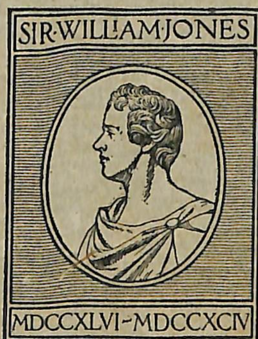
The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
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VOL. VI

HUMĀYŪN IN PERSIA

By
SUKUMAR RAY, M.A.



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To

MY MOTHER

AS A TOKEN OF AFFECTION AND GRATITUDE

FOREWORD

This is a very detailed and scholarly study of a minute but not uninteresting corner of mediaeval Indian history, namely Humāyūn's doings in Persia and Afghānistān as a discrowned fugitive from India. After the throne of Delhi had been recovered and the Indian empire had attained to undreamt of splendour under his son Akbar, the Mughal Court historians deemed it politic to slur over this temporary eclipse of their royal house, because Humāyūn in exile had not been treated as a full equal by his royal host in Persia. To this was added the eternal antagonism between the Shī'as and the Sunnīs. Did Humāyūn in Persia find it expedient to make a confession of the Shī'a faith, and if so, did he go to the full length of it? That is a question which the Delhi Court historians naturally try to ignore or leave clouded in vague rhetoric,—while the Iranian writers on the other hand, very politely remain silent on the subject.

This question has been critically investigated in Professor Sukumar Ray's book. He has taken infinite pains in settling the dates and place-names of the Mughal Emperor's movements outside India, and he has for the first time brought all the known Persian and Indian writers on the subject together in one comprehensive review and judgment.

It is a sound and painstaking production, though the nature of the subject has denied to our author any brilliant episode or splendid personality, such as abound in the history of the reign of Akbar. A piece of honest scholarly work like this deserves to be printed and thus made available to students as a standard authority on one particular bit of Indian history.

Professor S. Ray has undertaken a full study of Bairām Khān, young Akbar's Lord Protector (*atāliq*), and of his son 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān, the brightest star of Hindustānī poetry and Ṣūfī philosophy at the Mughal Court. The present book is the necessary first step to the accomplishment of that most interesting work. I have gone through the book with the young author and heartily recommend it to those who love to read our country's past history.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

PREFACE

The history of Humāyūn has attracted the attention of historians less than that of other Mughul emperors; and the story of his exile in Persia is a neglected chapter of that history. The historians of India treat it rather as something outside their scope, for they consider that the doings of Humāyūn in Persia do not directly concern the history of India. On the other hand the historians of Persia pay little attention to events which, they regard, as properly belonging to the history of an Indian emperor. This attitude of mediaeval chroniclers is no less true of modern historians as well. Erskine's chapter on the subject in his *History of India*, published in 1854, still remains the best, if not the only, detailed account.[1] Erskine could not, however, base his account on all available original sources. His authorities are seven Indian chronicles and one chronicle, written from the Persian point of view—the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu'l-Fazl, the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, the *Tārīkh-i-Badāūnī*, the *Tażkirat-al-wāqi'āt* of Jauhar, the *Mukhtaṣar* of Bāyazīd, the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, the *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb* of Khāfī Khān and the *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamārāi 'Abbāsī* of Iskandar Munshī.[2] He did not consult the chronicles written from the Safavid point of view except the *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamārāi 'Abbāsī*. He had not at his disposal the correspondence between Humāyūn and Shāh Ṭahmāsp which we find in some manuscripts. Besides, he treated of Humāyūn's journey to the Persian court and particularly his return from there in a cursory way. He did not discuss the chronological and geographical questions that arise in connection with Humāyūn's life and journey in Persia. He could not be expected to discuss all these, for the scope of his work was different. The historian of Humāyūn, however, cannot afford to neglect the story of the vicissitudes of his fortune in that foreign land; and after all it was to a certain extent due to Persian help that Humāyūn could recover his Indian territory. The account of Humāyūn in Persia forms also an interesting chapter in the relations of the Mughul emperors of India with the Safavid court. To some the exile may appear as the just retribution of a king who probably loved opium more than the throne; to many the account of the wanderings of an enthroned monarch, who had lost his throne, will appear as tragic as it is interesting.[3]

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[1] The work was practically completed in December, 1939 and the preface was written in October of that year. As the work was being revised, a fairly long paper on Humāyūn in Persia by Dr. S. K. Banerji, Ph.D. (Lond.), of the Lucknow University, appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, May, 1940. Dr. Banerji has based his account on Indian chronicles, but he has used one chronicle written from the Persian point of view—the *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh* of Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū—which Erskine did not use. The paper is a chapter of the author's learned work on Humāyūn and naturally he cannot be expected to treat of the subject in an exhaustive manner.

[2] Erskine, Vol. ii, p. 297n.

[3] A. S. Beveridge remarks: 'The incidents of Humāyūn's visit to Persia are very entertaining.'—*Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 169n.

I have consulted all available materials, printed Persian works as well as unpublished Persian manuscripts at the British Museum, India Office, Bodleian, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Būhār, Punjab University, 'Alīgarh University, Punjab Public, Bankipore Oriental Public, Sir Jadunath Sarkar's and the Nawab of Hazratganj's libraries. Many of these manuscripts, as will be evident from a perusal of the bibliography, have not been used by any previous writer dealing with the history of Humāyūn. I believe the results of the present investigation will throw some new light on this particular chapter of Humāyūn's history. Many new details have been given about the route followed by Humāyūn on his way to the Safavid court and return homewards, the treatment accorded to him by the Shāh as well as the description of the ceremonies and festivities in which Humāyūn participated. The important question whether Humāyūn accepted the Shī'ah faith has been thoroughly discussed, the chronology has been critically examined and reconstructed and the correspondence between Humāyūn and Shāh Ṭahmāsp, which is of great historical importance, is utilized and published for the first time. The sieges of Qandahār have also been critically studied and a thorough and careful study of Jauhar, based on several manuscripts, has revealed new facts. Works, compiled by Persian chroniclers in Persia, have been duly utilized to do adequate justice to the Safavid or Persian standpoint.

I must take this opportunity of expressing my deepest gratitude to Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law, for his unfailing kindness and generous patronage as well as for bringing me from the back-water of a *mofussil* College into his University which really stands for the advancement of learning—the finest place for scholarship and higher research work. I remain also deeply grateful to Mr. P. N. Banerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, for the kindly help which I have so often received from him.

I should be accused of ingratitude if I were to fail to acknowledge my debt to those from whom I have received help in compiling this work. I should first mention the name of that *doyen* of Indian historians, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt. I have always received from him his valued guidance, his precious suggestions and his infectious enthusiasm for research. He kindly lent me several MSS. which are in his private library, and even procured for me copy of some letters from the Fayyāẓu'l-qawānīn at the library of the Nawab of Hazratganj, Lucknow, and of some folios from the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh at the Punjab Public Library, Lahore. From my Professor, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., formerly Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, I have obtained various kinds of help. It was he who first instilled into me the spirit of research. He kindly procured for me loan of Persian MSS. from the India Office Library, London. But for the generous help of Sir Jadunath and Dr. Majumdar this work could not have been published. I am also indebted to my Professors, the late Sir A. F. Rahman, Kt., D.Litt. and Dr. K. R. Qanungo, Ph.D., of the Dacca University.

I remain also deeply thankful to Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Sir Asutosh Professor of Islamic Culture, Calcutta University, Dr. I. B. Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D., Sir Asutosh Professor of Mediaeval and Modern Indian History, Calcutta University, the late Professor Mahfuzu'l Haq, M.A., of the Presidency College, Calcutta, Messrs. A. M. M. Namazie and F. R. Baqi of the Department of Arabic and Persian, University of Calcutta, Dr. U. C. Nag, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.) of the Hindu University, Benares, Dr. N. R. Ray, M.A., D.Lett.Phil. (Leyden), Dip.Lib. (Lond.), Bageswari Professor of Fine Arts, Calcutta University, Mr. B. N. Banerjee, M.Sc., Dip.Lib. (Lond.), Chief Librarian, University of Calcutta, Dr. K. Nag, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris), formerly General Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. K. N. Bagchi, B.Sc., M.B., F.R.I.C., D.T.M., F.N.I., the present General Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Mr. Abdu'l Baqui, M.A., Fakhru'l-Muhaddesin of the Rajshahi College, Rajshahi (Bengal), the late Shamsu'l-Ulama Dr. Hidayat Hosain, Ph.D., Khan Bahadur, and my former friend and colleague, the late Sayyid Haidar Abbas, M.A., M.K., L.K.

I must also acknowledge my indebtedness to the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for accepting my work for publication in the Monograph Series.

Department of Islamic History and Culture,
University of Calcutta,
November 11, 1947.

SUKUMAR RAY.

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Add. 7688.—British Museum MS. Add. 7688: a collection of letters compiled by Abu'l Qāsim Īvāghlī Ḥaidar.

Af. T.—*Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh*, British Museum MS. Or. 4678. Author's name not mentioned.

Aḥ. T.—*Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh* by Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū, Baroda, 1931, Gaikwār's Oriental Series.

A.N.—*Akbar-nāma* by Abu'l-Faẓl, English Translation by H. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1897–1921. Also A.S.B. and Lucknow Texts, 1873–87 and 1913.

'Ārif Qandahārī—*Tārīkh-i-Akbarī* by Muḥammad 'Ārif Qandahārī, Rāmpūr State Library MS. (Sir Jadunāth Sarkār's Transcript).

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Badāūnī—*Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh* by 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāūnī, Calcutta, 1864–69. English Translation of Vol. I by G. S. A. Ranking, Calcutta, 1895–99.

Bāyazīd—*Mukhtaṣar or Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn wa Akbar*, India Office MS. Ethé No. 223.

Curzon—*Persia and the Persian Question* by George N. Curzon, 2 vols., London, 1892.

De Laet—'*Description of India and Fragment of Indian History*' translated by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Banerjee, Bombay, 1928.

D.M.—*Duraru'l-manṣūr* by Muḥammad 'Askarī Bilgrāmī, R.A.S.B. MS.
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Stewart—*The Tezkereh al Vakiāt*, Translated by Major C. Stewart, Calcutta, 1904.
Ṭ.A.—*Vide* Niẓāmu'd-dīn.
T. Alf.—*Tārīkh-i-Alfi* (fourth volume) by Ja'far Beg Āṣaf Khān, India Office MS. Ethé No. 3293 and British Museum MS. Or. 465.
T.A.M.—*Tārīkh-i-Amīr Maḥmūd* by Amīr Maḥmūd bin Khwānd Amīr, British Museum MS. Or. 2939.
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T. Kh. T.—*Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Tīmūrīya*, Oriental Public Library (Bānkīpūr) MS. No. 551.
T.W.—*Vide* Jauhar.
Yāqūt—*Barbier De Meynard—Dictionnaire geographique, historique et litteraire de la Perse et des contrees adjacentes, extrait du Modjem El-Bouldan de Yaqout et Complete a l'aide de documents arabes et persans*, Paris, 1861.
Ẓ.W.M.A.—*Ẓafaru'l-Wālih bi Muẓaffar wa Ālih* by 'Abdullāh Muḥammad bin 'Umar al-Makkī, London, 1910–21.

ERRATA AND ADDENDA

ERRATA :

Page 9, line 14. *After* ' each governor ' *insert the following words :* 'to offer the royal party '.

Page 20, line 16. *Delete* ' March ' *and insert* ' July '.

Page 21, footnote 8, last line. *Delete* ' 11 ' *before Jumāda-al-awwāl and insert* ' 21 '.

Page 30, last line. *Before* ' Bikramājit ' *insert the following words :* ' the family of '.

Page 48, footnote 3. *Delete* ' comma ' *after* ' Bairām K͟hān '.

Page 51, footnote 3, line 3. *Delete* ' of ' *before* ' importance ' *and insert* ' in '.

Page 89, section 3, line 7. *Delete* ' brother ' *and insert* ' sister '.

Page 100, line 3. *Delete* ' host ' *and insert* ' guest '.

ADDENDA :

Page 18. *Add the following to footnote 4 :* Humāyūn's inscription is as follows :—

ای رحمت تو عذر پذیر همه کس　　ظاهر بجناب تو ضمیر همه کس

درگاه در تو قبله گاه همه خلق　　لطفت بکرشمه دستگیر همه کس

سرگشتهٔ بادیهٔ بی‌سرانجامی محمد همایون

۱۴ شوال سنه ۹۵۱

O Thou whose mercy accepts the apology of all.
The mind of everyone is exposed to Thy majesty.
The threshold of Thy gate is the ' Qibla gāh ' of all peoples.
Thy bounty with a glance supports everyone.
A wanderer in the desert of destitution,

MUHAMMAD HUMĀYŪN.

14th Shawwāl, 951 A.H. (December 29, 1544).

The statement of 'Abdu'l Bāqī that Humāyūn wrote the verse with his own hand is confirmed by Mr. N. Elias whose Mīrzā states: 'Sheikh Abdur Rahmān, one of the descendants of Sheikh-i-Jām, says that the inscription is believed to be in Humāyūn's own handwriting.' According to an old Khwāja who reported it to the Mīrzā, the slab containing the inscription was formerly fixed in the Diwān (arch) facing the Shaikh's tomb, but afterwards it was removed from there and placed on the top of the railing enclosing the grave. J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 48.

Page 37. *Add the following to footnote 2:* According to Firishta Mīrzā Kāmrān and some Chaghatāi nobles regarded Humāyūn as a Shī'ah and he relates an interesting story regarding Humāyūn's Shiite proclivities. One day, while the Mughuls were collected at Lahore after they had been defeated by Shīr Shāh, Humāyūn and Kāmrān were riding together and they saw a dog lift up its leg against a tombstone and make water on it. Kāmrān, just to taunt Humāyūn for his Shiite leanings, remarked that the man buried there must be a Rāfiẓī. Humāyūn promptly retorted that the dog also must be a Sunnī. Tārīkh-i-Firishta, vol. I, p. 243.

Add the following to footnote 5: Firishta, though he was a Shī'ah and on several occasions refers to Humāyūn's Shiite leanings as mentioned above, comes to the definite conclusion in a final estimate of the Mughul king that he professed Sunnism:

البته حنفی مذهب بوده .... مذهب حنفی داشت

Tārīkh-i-Firishta, vol. I, p. 243.

CHAPTER I

HUMĀYŪN LEAVES FOR PERSIA

1. Humāyūn abandons all his hopes in India and leaves for Qandahār

On 7 Rabī'ul-ākhir, 950/11 July, 1543, about three years and two months after the battle of Kanauj, Humāyūn commenced his journey, abandoning all his hopes in India and left Jūn [1] for Qandahār which was part of the dominions of his brother Kāmrān.[2] Authorities differ as regards Humāyūn's route towards Qandahār. Jauhar, who was with the royal party, writes that Humāyūn marched from Jūn to Sihwān and from Sihwān he reached Shāl Mashtang via Gandāva. Abu'l-Fazl gives another route. Humāyūn reached Shāl via Sibī. At Shāl he learnt of Kāmrān's evil design, and so he gave up the idea of going to Qandahār and proceeded to Mashtang. From Gulbadan Begam it appears that Humāyūn reached Shāl Mashtang via Sibī, rather the vicinity of Sibī. It is difficult to say exactly what route from Bhakkar to Mashtang Humāyūn took, whether via Gandāva or Sibī or both and whether he advanced as far as Shāl or Quetta, as Abu'l-Fazl says.[3] Humāyūn's route appears to have been as follows: He crossed the Indus at Jūn and marched to Sihwān. From Sihwān he went to Gandāva and from that place to Sibī. From Sibī he probably advanced as far as Quetta (Shāl) but as he obtained report of Kāmrān's hostility, he retreated to Mashtang. Bairām Beg and Tārdī Beg had advised Humāyūn, while he was at Sibī, to go to Shāl and Mashtang where they expected to draw the Afghāns and the followers of Mīrzā 'Askarī to their side.[4]

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[1] 'The district of Jūn lies to the north-west of the Ran, on the western limit of Chāchkān, near the eastern branch of the Indus.'—Erskine, vol. ii, p. 255. According to Elphinstone Jūn is 'on a branch of the Indus, halfway between Tatta and Amercot'.—*History of India*, p. 443n. Jūn is indicated on the map at the end of Elphinstone's *History*, 9th Ed., 1916.

[2] The *T.I.N.S.* gives the wrong date, and says that Humāyūn crossed the Indus and started for Īrān on 22 Jumāda-al-ākhir—Add. 23513, fol. 426a. The *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī* similarly says that Humāyūn crossed the Indus on 12 Jumāda-al-ākhir, 950—fol. 237a.

[3] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 104, Faizī Sirhindī, fol. 49a, Gulbadan, p. 165 and the *T. Alf.*, fol. 418a make Shāl and Mashtang one place but these two are separate places and are referred to as such in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Jarrett, vol. ii, p. 397, Bāyazīd, fol. 2b, *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 390, *M.A.A.*, fol. 65b, and *Ah.T.*, p. 308. The *T.A.M.*, fol. 201b, has شال دستام which means Shāl Mashtang. It says that Shāl Mashtang is a dependency of Qandahār and its distance from Qandahār is twenty *farsakhs*/sixty miles, which is not correct.

[4] Gulbadan, p. 165.

Humāyūn's passage lay through a difficult route—desert, waste, rocks and hills. The hardship of the journey is vividly described in the simple pages of Jauhar. Plundered by robbers, almost frozen by cold, without adequate provisions and clothing, the royal party or the party of refugees arrived at Mashtang which is about one hundred and fifty miles south-east of Qandahār. We obtain few dates for Humāyūn's journey from Jūn to Shāl. The only date that we obtain is supplied by Abu'l-Fazl, who gives the date of Akbar's arrival at Qandahār, 18 Ramazān, 950/16 December, 1543. 'Askarī came to Humāyūn's camp immediately after the latter had left Mashtang and took Akbar to Qandahār. The journey to Qandahār could not take more than a week, and Humāyūn had to leave Mashtang soon after his arrival there on account of 'Askarī's hostility. Humāyūn therefore reached Mashtang about the beginning of December, 1543. This date is also corroborated by the statement of Gulbadan that snow fell when Humāyūn arrived at the vicinity of Mashtang as well as that of Jauhar that it was so cold that the king had to give his own fur cloak to his officers. The whole distance from Jūn to Shāl is about four hundred and fifty miles and Humāyūn took nearly five months to cover this distance. It appears from Jauhar that the journey from Sihwān to Shāl Mashtang or Mashtang was made in nine or ten days; if so there must have been delay for four months and a half between Jūn and Sihwān.[1]

In the meantime Shāh Husain had informed Kāmrān and 'Askarī that Humāyūn was proceeding towards Qandahār. Mīrzā 'Askarī, who held Qandahār on behalf of Kāmrān, was instructed by the latter to fortify that place and to forbid the king to go there. While the royal party was encamped at Mashtang, 'Askarī planned to capture Humāyūn suddenly and sent one Jai Bahādur Uzbeg, who had knowledge of the locality, to have accurate information about the situation of the royal party. This Jai Bahādur or Chūlī Uzbeg, as he is called in some chronicles, had served Humāyūn in India, and, feeling for his old master, he determined to reveal the design of Mīrzā 'Askarī. He came rapidly on horseback, reached the royal camp at midday, and inquired where the tent of Bairām Beg was. The men pointed it out and he ran to the tent of Bairām Beg to whom he revealed the design of Mīrzā 'Askarī to capture the king and warned that there was no time for talk—they should move immediately.[2]

Bairām hastened to the royal tent and gave Humāyūn this information. Preparations were accordingly made for immediate departure. Khwāja Mu'azzam and Bairām Beg were deputed to bring Hamīda Bānū Begam and child Akbar. Hamīda Begam was hastily placed on horseback, but

[1] Jauhar, MS. S., pp. 101–104. Elphinstone has raised this point, *History of India*, p. 444n.

[2] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 105, Faizī Sirhindī, foll. 49b–50a, Bāyazīd, fol. 2b, *T. Alf.*, fol. 418a, *T.Kh.T.*, fol. 285a, *Zubdatu't-Tawārīkh*, fol. 77a. Badāūnī says that Chūlī Beg arrived at the camp at midnight.—vol. i, p. 442. The *T.A.M.*, alone of all the chronicles written from the Safavid standpoint, relates the incident but does not give the name of the person.—fol. 201b.

the child was left behind to the mercy of his uncle as, it was feared, he could not bear the hardship of the journey.[1] All idea of going to Qandahār was now given up, and Humāyūn decided to proceed towards Persia in order to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and other holy places. Though Humāyūn had the idea of pilgrimage in his mind, he also thought of seeking the aid of the Shāh of Īrān to recover his territory. It was Bairām Beg who induced Humāyūn to go to Īrān and try his fortune there, because the ancestors of Bairām were related to and were in alliance with the former rulers of Persia.[2] It appears from Humāyūn's conduct in Persia that the motive of pilgrimage was subordinate to his political object to gain the alliance of the powerful Safavid monarch. The last efforts of Humāyūn to regain his kingdom failed. The period of his exile began.

2. Humāyūn's journey from Mashtang to Sīstān

Humāyūn had to leave Mashtang in extreme haste, and he could not even take all the tents and baggages with him. Some of his men also were left behind. Many had already deserted him in his miserable plight. The conduct of Tārdī Beg, who refused his horse to the king, shows how low the prestige of the king had fallen among his followers. Contradictory accounts in the original authorities make it very difficult to estimate the exact numerical strength of Humāyūn's men, who accompanied him in his exile. The lowest estimate puts the number at twenty-two while the highest number given is that of five hundred and sixty persons. It seems probable that Humāyūn had not even fifty men with him and Jauhar's estimate that the royal party consisted of forty men and two women may be regarded as fairly correct as it is that of an eye-witness. Of the two women, one was Ḥamīda Bānū Begam and the other was the Balūch wife of Ḥasan 'Alī Īshak Āghā.[3]

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[1] *T. Alf.*, fol. 418a. Gulbadan says that there was no time or opportunity to carry the child. Badāūnī says that the child was left because of the heat and scarcity of water on the way. Niẓāmu'd-dīn and Firishta also give the reason as the hot atmosphere. It was December when Humāyūn left Mashtang but the journey was to be 'through a desert and waterless waste'. The child was taken by his uncle Mīrzā 'Askarī to Qandahār where the chronicler Jauhar accompanied him. Jauhar, however, escaped and joined Humāyūn at Herāt.

[2] *M.R.*, vol. i, p. 575.

[3] The following works give the number of persons who accompanied Humāyūn to Īrān as twenty-two: *T. Alf.*, fol. 418a, *T.A.*, p. 208, Badāūnī, vol. i, p. 443, *Zubdatu't-Tawārīkh*, fol. 77a, *M.A.A.*, fol. 66a, Firishta, Bombay Ed., vol. i, p. 411. Gulbadan, p. 166, says that the royal party consisted of thirty persons, and she gives the names of nineteen persons. From Bāyazīd's list, fol. 2a, it appears that the number exceeded twenty-two. We come to the same conclusion by consulting Abu'l-Faẓl's list of officers and servants who served during exile, *A.N.*, vol. i, pp. 447–452. Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 50b, has 'forty men and two women'. The *T.Kh.T.*, fol. 285a, has 'twenty-seven persons'. The *T.A.M.* at fol. 201b says that Humāyūn had thirty or forty men with him, and at fol. 202b we find that Aḥmad Sulṭān in his letter to the governor of Herāt says that Humāyūn had not even fifty men with him. Some MSS. of the *A.A.A.* say that Humāyūn had five hundred and sixty persons with him when

From Mashtang Humāyūn proceeded towards the country known as Garmsīr. After the party had advanced a short distance, and as it was an exceptionally dark night, Bairām Beg suggested to the king that they should return to Mashtang and take 'Askarī by surprise who, he believed, would be busy there at that time in gathering Humāyūn's wealth and property that had been left in hurry. But the king did not agree, as, he said, he was bent on pilgrimage.[1] The royal party proceeded through desert and on the way they suffered much from cold. It was December and they had to make their passage through hills covered with ice.[2] To make the situation worse, the party was one night opposed by a band of Balūchīs who tried to do mischief. As nobody understood their language the Balūch wife of Ḥasan 'Alī Īshak Āghā did the work of interpreter. The Balūchīs said that their chief Malik Hātī was not present and they should wait till his arrival. Next morning the Balūch chief arrived and saw the king.[3] He said that he had received *farmāns* from Mīrzā Kāmrān only three days before as well as from Mīrzā 'Askarī, instructing him to arrest the king, who was passing through his territory, and send him to Qandahār. According to Gulbadan Begam, who describes in detail Humāyūn's stay with the Balūchīs, Kāmrān and 'Askarī warned the Balūch chief not to let Humāyūn escape and promised him all the wealth and property of the king if he captured and surrendered him to them at Qandahār. Malik Hātī, however, became kind to Humāyūn and advised him to escape, and he himself escorted the king thirty miles up to the borders of his territory.[4]

Humāyūn now entered the territory called Garmsīr, which lies between Qandahār and Khurāsān, and which was then a dependency of Mīrzā

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he left for Khurāsān,—fol. 30b, R.A.S.B. MS. 89, fol. 19b, Būhār MS. The Ṭihrān Ed., p. 74 and R.A.S.B. MS. 90, fol. 54a, say that Humāyūn had sixty or seventy persons only. According to the *R.S.*, fol. 84b, fifty confidants accompanied Humāyūn when he proceeded towards Sīstān. Khāfī Khān, vol. i, p. 116, says that Humāyūn's men were less than seventy. Elphinstone remarks: 'Humayun's own troops, while in Persia, only amounted to 700 men'. I do not know on what authority he gives this estimate. In the British Museum MS. of Jauhar, Add. 16711, we find Qāẓī Jahān saying to Humāyūn when he hesitated to accept the Shī'ah faith: 'You are not alone. On your account about seven hundred people will be put to death.'—M. A. Ghanī, *Persian Literature at the Mughal Court*, vol. ii, p. 146.

[1] *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 392.

[2] The hardship of the journey is described by Gulbadan Begam: 'They were all night in the snow, and (at first) there was neither wood for fire nor food to eat. They grew very hungry and feeble. The Emperor gave orders to kill a horse. There was no cooking-pot, so they boiled some of the flesh in a helmet, and some they roasted. They made fires on all four sides, and with his own blessed hand the Emperor roasted some meat which he ate. He used to say: "My very hand was frozen by the intense cold".'—*Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 167.

[3] Gulbadan says that the Balūch chief came when part of the night had passed—*Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 167.

[4] Gulbadan, pp. 167-168; Jauhar, I.O.MS., foll. 25b–26a. The latter has ملک خطی.

Kāmrān. The magistrate of the place, Mīr 'Abdu'l-Ḥai did not pay any attention to Humāyūn and one of his servants, who did hospitality to the fugitive king, was blinded by him as punishment.[1] After much difficulty Humāyūn reached the fort of Ḥājī Bābā on the Helmand. The inhabitants of the place paid respects to their helpless guest by offering presents and the nobles visited him and sought the pleasure of his conversation. Here he was joined by Khwāja Jalālu'd-dīn Maḥmūd, who was an officer of Mīrzā 'Askarī and had been sent by him to collect revenue in the district.[2] He presented the king with tents, mules, horses and other necessaries for the journey which proved highly useful in his helpless circumstances. Humāyūn in appreciation of his loyalty conferred on him the position of Steward of the Household.[3] It is really amusing of a king, who had not even an inch of ground, granting high post to one of his followers.

Humāyūn considered it necessary to inform the Shāh of his intention to visit Persia and meet him, and to secure his permission before entering his territory. Accordingly, from Garmsīr he sent a letter through Chūlī Beg to the Shāh of Īrān on 1 Shawwāl, 950/29 December, 1543.[4] It was Bairām Beg who advised Humāyūn to write to the Shāh from Garmsīr.[5] The letter is as follows:

> After the performance of the duty of (expressing) good wishes and sincere friendship, which is the distinguishing pleasant trait of intimate friends, be it known that, notwithstanding the want of service and abundance of remorse, I beg to present myself like an atom in the presence of the sun of the firmament of splendour and magnificence, His Majesty, the shadow of God, who is the receptacle of wisdom, the manifestation of the perfect attributes of God, and beg to state that, although I had not outwardly placed myself among his exalted servants, yet the collar of affection and sincerity had always been secretly attached to the neck of my heart (as firmly) as lead, and my heart was attracted towards the directionless direction of His Majesty's court of ample joy and abundant light, which is the cause of the attainment and realization of various kinds of bliss and munificence, and (further) I was tasting every moment the honey of pleasure on account of the inclination of turning towards the exalted face (of His Majesty). At last, on account of the vicissitudes of the ignoble Time and the revolution of the ever-changing and inverted heaven, I have reached the airless and dark defile of Sind from the plains of the spacious kingdom of Hindūstān.

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[1] Jauhar, MS. S., pp. 108-9; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 51a.

[2] According to Bāyazīd Khwāja Jalālu'd-dīn Maḥmūd joined Humāyūn at Sīstān from the fort of Ḥājī Bābā on the Helmand.

[3] *M.R.*, vol. i, p. 574.

[4] For various controversial points regarding the letter vide Appendix A.

[5] *M.R.*, vol. i, p. 575.

What has passed over our head, has passed
Whether by river, or by hill or by forest.[1]

Now the bird of desire is spreading its wings of fortune to behold the beauty of the sun of greatness and glory. It is hoped that, by the compassion of Lord God, after obtaining the good fortune of presence at (His Majesty's) court, bounteous as the sea, which is the cause of the realization of many desires (in the minds of people), (I shall) have discussions and relate the circumstances, and submit what is worth submitting, if God, the most high, pleases.

O King! It is a long time that the phoenix of my high ambition has settled on the summit of the mountain of contentment;
The vile (deceitful) world, which shows wheat and sells barley, has made the parrot of my genius contented with millet;
My enemy is a lion (shīr), and for a long time he had turned his back on me;[2] now, finding me unguarded, he has turned his face towards me;[3]
My prayer to the Shāh is this that he should treat me as 'Alī treated Salmān in the desert of Aržan.

Humāyūn would have waited at Garmsīr for the arrival of the Shāh's reply, but 'Abdu'l-Ḥai, magistrate of the district, sent him the report that 'Askarī had despatched a force from Qandahār to capture the king and warned him that the only course for his safety was to leave Garmsīr and enter Sīstān which was outside the jurisdiction of Mīrzā 'Askarī. Humāyūn was forced to leave Garmsīr where the enemy was hard in pursuit. Accordingly he crossed the river Helmand and entered the province of Sīstān. The royal party, according to Bāyazīd, halted by the side of a lake which must be the lake Zarah [4].

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[1] *I.e.*, We have suffered what we were destined to suffer, whether by the side of the river, or on the hill or in the forest.

[2] *I.e.*, He has not challenged me.

[3] *I.e.*, He has challenged me.

[4] Mukhtaṣar, fol. 2b. For lake Zarah vide Le Strange, p. 335.

CHAPTER II

HUMĀYŪN AT SĪSTĀN AND HERĀT

1. Humāyūn at Sīstān

When Humāyūn reached the province of Sīstān, Aḥmad Sulṭān Shāmlū, governor of Sīstān, sent one of his prominent men to receive the king and invited him to come to his capital. When Humāyūn arrived at three or four leagues [1] from the city of Sīstān [2], Aḥmad Sulṭān himself with his chief nobles went to receive the king. Humāyūn was given a kind reception at Sīstān. Aḥmad Sulṭān gave his own residence for Humāyūn's stay, and he sent even the ladies of his household, mother and wives, to attend on Ḥamīda Bānū Begam [3].

At Sīstān Humāyūn was joined by several chiefs, Ḥājī Muḥammad, Ḥasan Kōka and others who had deserted Mīrzā 'Askarī.[4] These two advised Humāyūn to return to Zamīn Dāwār as Amīr Beg, governor of Zamīn Dāwār, and Chalma Beg, governor of Bist, and many of the followers of Mīrzā 'Askarī would desert him and help the king, and with their help it would be quite possible to recover the territory of Qandahār. Bairām Beg and Aḥmad Sulṭān Shāmlū dissuaded Humāyūn from returning to Zamīn Dāwār and accepting their advice.[5] Humāyūn accordingly pursued his plan of visiting the Shāh of Īrān. Ḥusain Qulī Mīrzā, brother of Aḥmad Sulṭān Shāmlū, paid his respects to the king at Sīstān and Humāyūn was pleased to hold religious discourse with him.

According to Jauhar it was from Sīstān that Humāyūn despatched the above letter to the Shāh. Bairām Beg and other nobles advised him to write to the Shāh as he might take offence for having entered his territory without permission. It might be that Humāyūn sent a second letter to Shāh Ṭahmāsp from Sīstān as he had not yet received any reply to his first letter written from Garmsīr, but had been compelled to enter the Shāh's territory without permission on account of the pressure of circumstances. This, however, cannot be maintained, for the letter, quoted by Jauhar, seems to be the same referred to by Abu'l-Fazl—the two lines of verse quoted by Abu'l-Fazl from the letter also occur in the letter given by

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[1] One *farsakh* is 18,000 feet or about 3½ miles.

[2] For the city of Sīstān, vide Bāyazīd, fol. 2b and Le Strange, p. 335. The old name of Sīstān is Sijistān. The *T.A.M.* has Sijistān at fol. 201b and it refers to the city of Sīstān at fol. 202b.

[3] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 109; Bāyazīd, fol. 2b; *T. Alf.*, fol. 418b.

[4] According to Gulbadan Ḥājī Muḥammad joined Humāyūn at the fort of Ḥājī Bābā and 'brought thirty or forty troopers and offered a string of mules'.—*Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 168. The *T. Alf.*, fol. 418b and the *T.A.*, p. 208, also say that Ḥājī Muḥammad joined Humāyūn at Ḥājī Bābā.

[5] *M.R.*, vol. i, p. 576.

Jauhar. Bairām Beg, we are told, also sent letters to his kinsmen, the Turkamāns, and a petition to the Shāh, and he received a reply from Shāh Ṭahmāsp.[1] We have got no copy of Bairām's letter to the Shāh and its reply.

2. The Shah receives the report of Humāyūn's arrival and issues instructions for his proper reception

There can be no doubt, however, that Humāyūn was forced to enter the Shāh's territory without his formal permission. Immediately on Humāyūn's arrival, Aḥmad Sulṭān Shāmlū sent a report *per* messenger to Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, the Shāh's son, and Muḥammad Khān Sharafu'd-dīn Ughlī Taklū, governor of Herāt, informing them of Humāyūn's arrival. The report is as follows:

> 'King Humāyūn, being helpless, desires to go for help to the court of His Majesty, our emperor. As there are only a small number of men with him, not even fifty in number, and as all are powerless and without weapon, you would please, if you think it proper, take him to Herāt and from there arrange for his proceeding to the camp of His Majesty, equal in power to Farīdūn.[2]

Muḥammad Khān thought it proper that Aḥmad Sulṭān should procure the Shāh's permission to send Humāyūn to the court via Herāt. Accordingly Aḥmad Sulṭān sent his messenger to the Shāh and Muḥammad Khān also sent another messenger, Kamālu'd-dīn Shāh Qulī Beg, brother of Qarā Sulṭān Shāmlū,[3] on his behalf. The messengers delivered the petitions to the Shāh and the Shāh granted the necessary permission.[4]

Immediately after the receipt of the report of Humāyūn's arrival in Īrān, Humāyūn's messenger Chūlī Beg submitted the letter which Humāyūn had addressed to the Shāh.[5] On receipt of Humāyūn's letter the Shāh became exceedingly glad that the ruler of Hindūstān had sought the protection of his court and by his order drums were beaten for three days at Qazwīn to express rejoicing. He despatched a reply to Humāyūn by his special couriers and gave Humāyūn's messenger leave. The Shāh sent instructions to all his governors and officers to receive the king and his party with due respect and that he should be given a royal reception wherever he should like to halt, in which the people should also participate, and all his requirements should be supplied from the State, and people should show the same obedience to him as they showed to the Shāh.[6]

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[1] *M.R.*, vol. ii, pp. 17-8.

[2] *T.A.M.*, fol. 202b.

[3] According to the *Af.T.*, fol. 117b, and the *A.A.A.*, p. 74, Muḥammad Khān sent the report of Humāyūn's arrival through Ḥasan Beg Taklū.

[4] *T.A.M.*, fol. 202b; *Af.T.*, fol. 117b; *R.S.*, foll. 84b–85a.

[5] *Af.T.*, fol. 121b.

[6] *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, fol. 58a; *AN.*, vol. i, p. 417; *Iqbāl-nāma*, vol. i, fol. 68b; Jauhar, P.U., MS. fol. 50a.

Of the letters of instructions to the governors, we have copy of the one addressed to Muḥammad Khān, governor of Herāt, in reply to the latter's message, and in it there are minutely detailed instructions for the reception of Humāyūn. From it one may infer that Humāyūn was given a princely reception everywhere and especially at Herāt. There can be no doubt that such staged display of magnificence was made in order to exhibit the might and splendour of the Safavid court. Each governor was to entertain the king, when Humāyūn would be his guest, with '1,200 dishes of varied food, such as may be fit for a royal table', and the governor of Herāt was to arrange 'three thousand dishes of food, sweetmeats, syrups and fruits'. The same magnificence is displayed in the presentation of gifts to the royal guest. It may be noted that in the *farmān* the Shāh calls Bairām Beg *amīr-i-mu'azzam* or the chief noble and his name is specifically mentioned with the king. The Shāh instructed each governor, when Humāyūn would arrive at his place, nine horses, three for the King's special use and one for the chief *amīr*, Bairām Beg.[1]

The governor of Sīstān also received a similar letter of instruction, a copy of which exists at the British Museum.[2] The name of the governor of Sīstān is, however, given there as 'Alī Qulī Khān Shāmlū.

3. Humāyūn proceeds to Herāt and receives the reply of the Shah on the way

Aḥmad Sulṭān Shāmlū advised Humāyūn to go to the Shāh's capital by Tabas Kīlakī as being the shortest route, but as the king intended to visit Herāt of which he had heard much, he proceeded towards Herāt by way of the fort of Ūk [3] and Farāh, after he had received the Shāh's permission. When he arrived near Farāh,[4] he met the Shāh's ambassador as well as his own messenger, Chūlī Bahādur. According to Abu'l-Fazl Shāh Ṭahmāsp sent the reply to Humāyūn by his special couriers, but according to the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* it was despatched through Chūlī Bahādur.[5] It seems quite probable that Humāyūn received the Shāh's reply at Farāh, whether it was despatched through Chūlī Bahādur or the Shāh's special messenger, for he met them both at Farāh. It does not seem that the ambassador of Shāh Ṭahmāsp met Humāyūn accidentally: he was advancing

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[1] The *farmān* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to Muḥammad Khān appears in many chronicles with some variations: Bāyazīd, foll. 3b–10a; *A.N.*, Lucknow text, vol. i, pp. 225–33; *Iqbāl-nāma*, vol. i, foll. 68b–73b; *M.A.*, foll. 68a–77a; *M.R.*, vol. i, pp. 577–87; *H.R.*, foll. 157b–64a; I.O.MS. No. 224, foll. 1b–6b; Bodleian MS. No. 112, foll. 141b–45a; *Tażkiratu's-salāṭīn-i-Chaghtāia*, foll. 71b–76a; *F.Q.*, pp. 153–67.

[2] Sloane MS. 4093.

[3] 'It was a celebrated fortress of Sijistān, and was still an important place when Amīr Tīmūr took it.'—*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, English trans. by Raverty, p. xlv.

[4] 32° 26′ N. and 62° 8′ E., vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial series, Afghānistān*, p. 75.

[5] *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 417; *Af.T.*, fol. 121b.

to meet the exiled king to deliver the Shāh's letter. The letter of the Shāh is as follows:

> The gracious letter and honourable correspondence, which His Majesty of royal dignity, of exalted rank, tower of magnificence, repository of justice and equity, king of high position, of great power—may God the high exalt him—had sent, in the contents of which the incidents that had occurred in every direction to his dynasty, were made known in every way, reached (me) and has been received and accepted with all respect and honour. As out of sincerity, cordiality and devotion as well as extreme firmness of friendship and confidence, (he has) turned his face to this direction, and as, following the glorious traditions of (the king) of exalted sovereignty, repository of splendour, whose abode is in paradise,[1] (he has) considered the acquisition of security and hopes in dependence on and in alliance with this great dynasty, undoubtedly amends for and rectification of the errors and wrongs, that have at this time overtaken the affairs of that repository of dominion and splendour, will be made with the invisible help of the Ones whose abode is holy, the Lord *Imāms*, the Innocent Ones,—on them be the peace and blessings (of God)—and the favour of my successful and auspicious person, and all his objects and desires will be attended with success and triumph in the best way. Now (I am) waiting for his respectful arrival and very much yearning for the honoured meeting. The welfare of the two States and our mutual interest is that he should hasten towards this right-ending direction, and reach soon so that after the honour of meeting, we shall act as our right-directing judgment dictates. May the shadow of kingdom and the glory of dominion and fortune be extended and expanded.[2]

4. Humāyūn is given a grand reception at Herāt

When Humāyūn arrived at four leagues from the city of Herāt, Muḥammad Khān came to learn of his arrival and sent 'Alī Sulṭān Qūrchībāshī, a relation of his and an expert officer, to receive the king.[3] 'Alī Sulṭān met the royal party on the way between Herāt and Asfuzār.[4] Next morning Muḥammad Khān, attended by the grandees of the realm and distinguished men of learning like Mīr Murtaẓā Ṣadr and Mīr Ḥusain of Kerbalā as well as by the citizens of Herāt, proceeded towards the Mālān bridge[5] which is in the suburb of Herāt. There Muḥammad Khān met Humāyūn and then he led the king towards the Bāgh Zāghān, 'which because of its

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[1] *I.e.*, Bābur Pādshāh. [2] Vide Appendix B for the Persian original.

[3] According to the *Af.T.*, fol. 121b, Tātār Beg was sent to welcome Humāyūn. The *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 432, has Tātār Sulṭān.

[4] *R.S.*, fol. 85a; *T.A.M.*, fol. 203a. Asfuzār is modern Sabzawār, Le Strange, p. 412. From Bāyazīd, fol. 3b, it appears that 'Ali Sulṭān met Humāyūn near the fort of Ūk which does not seem probable.

[5] Le Strange, p. 410.

healthy climate, trees and flowers, is the envy of the garden of Iram'.[1] Splendid arrangements were made to receive the royal guest and the whole city of Herāt was as if observing a gala day. Muḥammad Khān ordered the people of Herāt, young and old, to come out of the city and stand in array on the two sides of the way from the Mālān bridge to the Bāgh Zāghān and welcome king Humāyūn with music and sport.[2] When Humāyūn approached the Bāgh Zāghān, he was received there by Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā. The prince, who was only ten years old, paid his respects to Humāyūn on foot and Humāyūn also came down from horseback. They shook hands and embraced each other.[3]

5. The grand banquet arranged by Muḥammad Khān in honour of Humāyūn

Humāyūn was lodged in the palace named *Manzil-i-Begam*, which was the finest of all buildings at Herāt. Muḥammad Khān spared no pains to give Humāyūn every comfort and to show him every respect, as instructed in the royal *farmān*. Two or three days after Humāyūn's arrival, he arranged a grand entertainment in honour of his royal guest. The festivity was held in Bāgh Zāghān. When Humāyūn arrived near the place of festivity and saw prince Muḥammad Mīrzā, he came down from his horse. The prince rose from his seat and advanced as far as the tent rope to receive him. Arrangements were all splendid, as required by the royal *farmān*. The audience hall was decorated in a befitting manner; choicest dishes were prepared for the occasion; music, mirth and joy were the life of the banquet hall. Ṣābir Qāq, the finest reciter of the time, and Ustād Zaitūn chanted odes which so deeply touched Humāyūn that he shed tears.[4] We may quote the description of the banquet by Amīr Maḥmūd, son of the famous historian Khwānd Amīr:

> The sitting of the assembly commenced, to describe which speech becomes detached from the pen and the pen from speech as on account of the elegance of the audience hall the stars became concealed [5] from the pavilion of the clear sky; and on account of the rare and beautiful furnitures, it excelled in pleasantness the garden of heaven. Fair

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[1] The following works have Bāgh Zāghān: *Ah.T.*, p. 309; *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, fol. 58b and Add. 23513, fol. 426a; *R.S.*, fol. 85b; *F.S.*, fol. 19a; *T.A.M.*, fol. 203b. The *A.N.* and other Indian chronicles have Bāgh Jahānārā. Jauhar has Bāgh Murād. The *Af.T.* says that the Bāgh Jahānārā was the place of Humāyūn's residence at Herāt. The Bāgh Zāghān lay outside the city of Herāt—*T.A.M.*, fol. 203b.

[2] *T.A.M.*, fol. 203b; Jauhar, MS. S., p. 112; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 52a.

[3] *Af.T.*, fol. 122a; *T.A.M.*, fol. 204a; *A.A.A.*, p. 75. The *Af.T.*, however, says that Muḥammad Mīrzā met the king in the environs of the Mālān bridge. According to the *T.Alf.*, fol. 418b, the prince himself went to receive Humāyūn when he approached near Herāt. The *Majāmi'u'l-akhbār*, fol. 392a, says that both the prince and Muḥammad Khān advanced a few *manzils* to receive Humāyūn and accompanied him up to Mashhad.

[4] *K.M.*, fol. 124a; *Af.T.*, fol. 122a.

[5] In shame.

women, amiable and meek, expert in rendering service, stood in every corner like virgins of paradise in that assembly of heavenly dignity. On account of their spirit-stimulating beauty the thought of life and the next world vanished. On account of the pleasure-exciting songs of singers the Venus was concealed [1] in the sheet of the sky and on account of the music of musicians [2] grieved hearts became gladdened; and on account of the palatable foods and nice drinks the uneasy appetite in the hearts of beggars vanished like the desire for food in the hearts of rich persons. After the attainment of these materials of sensual pleasures and material delicacies, cash money in gold and silver was submitted to the king as present. And the servants of the court whose foundation is the sky were made glad and proud by the award of valuable robes. On account of this help full of love and friendship, good name was spread on the surface of the world.[3]

6. Humāyūn stays at Herāt and witnesses the New Year festival

The sights of Herāt pleased Humāyūn and he stayed there for sometime —about one month according to Jauhar and twenty days according to the ambassador K͟hur S͟hāh.[4] He spent this time in visiting beautiful spots, the shrines of great saints, gardens and buildings, memorials of former kings, in and around the city. Of the notable tombs he visited was the shrine of K͟hwāja 'Abdullāh Anṣārī, the 'saint of Herāt', and of the gardens were the Bāg͟h Murād, the Bāg͟h K͟hiyābān, the Bāg͟h Zāg͟hān, the Bāg͟h Jahānārā and the Bāg͟h Safīd.[5] 'In K͟hurāsān', observes Gulbadan Begam, 'his Majesty visited all the gardens and the flower-gardens, and the splendid buildings put up by Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, and the grand structures of olden days'.[6] The ambassador K͟hur S͟hāh boldly asserts that Humāyūn had never seen in Hindūstān what he saw in K͟hurāsān—'the beautiful buildings, palaces, gardens and canals have made K͟hurāsān a paradise'.[7]

The particular reason for Humāyūn's further stay at Herāt was to attend the New Year festival which the Persians celebrate with the highest pomp and grandeur. There is a detailed description of the *Naurūz* festival in the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīk͟h*. Humāyūn was seated on the royal throne on double-lined carpet; on his right side sat prince Muḥammad Mīrzā and on his left sat Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf, the *Ṣadr*. According to the custom of Īrān courtiers and ministers used to offer presents to the king and princes on the New Year's Day. First, Muḥammad K͟hān offered presents, and after him, the nobles and courtiers offered their gifts to Humāyūn; and

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[1] In shame. [2] Lit. men of amusement. [3] *T.A.M.*, foll. 204b–205a.

[4] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 113; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 52a; *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, fol. 58b and Add. 23,513, fol. 426a. The *F.S.*, fol. 19a, says that Humāyūn stayed at Herāt for twenty days. The *T.A.M.* has—for some days (روز چند)—fol. 205b.

[5] Bābur's *Memoirs*, A. S. Beveridge, pp. 304–6. Bābur describes the notable places and buildings of Herāt.

[6] *Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 169. [7] *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, foll. 59a-b.

these were entrusted to Bairām Beg and Ḥājī Muḥammad. More than eight thousand *tumāns* were offered as present to king Humāyūn on that day. Ṣābir Qāq and Maḥmūd Qazwīnī, the famous reciters, Ustād Qāsim the harpist, and masters of music and song graced the occasion and made it a feast of mirth and joy; even 'the musician Venus in order to enjoy that exalted assembly peeped through the window of heaven and spoke in appreciation and praise'.[1]

While he was at Herāt, Humāyūn received every week presents and messages of good wish from the Shāh.[2] Muḥammad Khān supplied the king with all necessaries, and till his arrival at the court of the Shāh Humāyūn did not require anything more.[3]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

Chronology of Humāyūn's arrival at and departure from Herāt

There seems to be a great deal of confusion as regards the arrival of Humāyūn at and departure from Herāt. According to the *Akbar-nāma* the royal party reached the Jahānārā garden on 1 Żī'lqa'da, 950/27 January, 1544. This date of Humāyūn's arrival at Herāt is inconsistent with the statement of Abu'l-Fazl that Muḥammad Khān's letter was received by the Shāh on 12 Żī'l-ḥijja/8 March, 1544; for Muḥammad Khān had written to the Shāh before Humāyūn reached Herāt and it was only after he had received the permission of the Shāh that he started for Herāt.[4] Humāyūn despatched the letter to the Shāh from Garmsīr on 1 Shawwāl, 950/29 December, 1543. Consequently Humāyūn reached Sīstān in the early part of January, for he could not stay long at Garmsīr. Aḥmad Sulṭān wrote immediately to Muḥammad Khān and Muḥammad Khān sent the letter to the Shāh without delay.[5] The Shāh therefore should have received the letter about the middle of January. So it does not seem improbable that Humāyūn should have reached Herāt on 1 Żī'l-qa'da/27 January. The date, 1 Żī'lqa'da, 950, as the day of Humāyūn's arrival at Herāt, is also given in the *Rauzatu'ṣ-Ṣafavīya*, the *Ma'dan-i-akhbār-i-Aḥmadī*, the *Iqbāl-nāma* and the Būhār MS. No. 45. Amīr Maḥmūd says that Muḥammad Khān went out to receive Humāyūn on 1 Żī'l-qa'da, 950.[6] If Humāyūn stayed at Herāt for one month, as Jauhar says, he left it at the end of February (28 or 29 February, 1544). This date, however, cannot be maintained because Humāyūn spent the Persian New Year at Herāt,[7] and that occurs on or about

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[1] *Af.T.*, foll. 122b-23a. [2] *Af.T.*, fol. 123a. [3] *T.Alf.*, fol. 418b.

[4] *A.N.*, vol. i, pp. 418, 433; *T.A.M.*, foll. 202b-3a; I.O.MS. No. 224, fol. 1b; *Iqbāl-nāma*, vol. i, fol. 69a.

[5] *T.A.M.*, fol. 202b.

[6] *R.S.*, fol. 85a; *M.A.A.*, fol. 78a; *Iqbāl-nāma*, vol. i, fol. 74a; *H.R.*, fol. 166a; *T.A.M.*, fol. 203a.

[7] *Af.T.*, foll. 122a-b; *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 434; *Iqbāl-nāma*, vol. i, fol. 74b.

21 March.[1] Therefore Humāyūn must have stayed at Herāt for more than a month and a half from 1 Żī'l-qa'da/27 January to the fourth week of March when the *Naurūz* festival, which lasts for a week, ends. Or he might have reached Herāt on a later date, as some chronicles say. According to the *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh* Humāyūn reached on 20 Żī'l-qa'da, 950/15 February, 1544, and the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* says that Muḥammad Khān went out to receive Humāyūn on Saturday, 26 Żi'l-qa'da, 950/21 February, 1944. The *Tārīkh-i-Ilchī-i-Niẓām Shāh* and the *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī* simply state that Humāyūn arrived at Herāt in Żī'l-qa'da, 950.[2] If we accept the date 1 Żī'l-qa'da, we cannot accept Jauhar's statement that Humāyūn stayed at Herāt for about a month. Besides, this date is inconsistent with the statement of Abu'l-Fazl that the New Year festival was close at hand and that of the author of the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* that the spring was soon approaching.[3] From the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* it appears that Humāyūn arrived at Herāt on or soon after 26 Żī'l-qa'da, 950/21 February, 1544. This date agrees with the statements that Humāyūn stayed at Herāt for about one month and that the New Year festival and the spring were close at hand and Humāyūn witnessed the *Naurūz* festival at Herāt. It seems, therefore, that Humāyūn stayed at Sīstān for more than a month.

In view of the above conclusion Abu'l-Fazl's date, 12 Żī'l-ḥijja, 950/8 March, 1544, of the receipt of Muḥammad Khān's letter by the Shāh must be regarded as wrong. The *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* states that Muḥammad Khān's letter was received at the court on Tuesday, 5 Shawwāl 950/2 January, 1544.[4] This date seems too early, for Humāyūn wrote the letter to the Shah on 1 Shawwāl, 950/29 December, 1543 from Garmsīr and it is only when he arrived at Sīstān that Aḥmad Sulṭān informed Muḥammad Khān of his arrival and then the latter wrote to the Shāḥ. All this could not have occurred in the course of two or three days.

Beveridge suggests the Persian month Day-i-khujista, which occurs in the R.A.S.B. MS. of the *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī*, for Żī'l-ḥijja.[5] The Persian month Dai corresponds to December and Humāyūn did not enter Persia before the beginning of January. Muḥammad Khān did not write to the Shāh before Humāyūn's arrival at Sīstān—we learn from the *Tārīkh-i-Amīr Maḥmūd*. Therefore 12 Day-i-khujista cannot be accepted as the right date.[6]

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[1] The *Af.T.*, fol. 122b, says that the Persian New Year fell in 951 A.H. which begins on 25 March, 1544: در آن روز مبارک که تحویل حمل احدی و خمسین و تسعمایه بود The *Naurūz* begins on or about 21 March, the day of vernal equinox when the Sun enters the Aries. Therefore the *Naurūz* festival lasted till 27 March and the year 951 A.H. begins on 25 March. So the *Naurūz* covered a few days of 950 A.H. and a few days of 951 A.H. Beveridge in the A.N., vol. i, p. 433 n3, says that the *Naurūz* occurs in the middle of March.

[2] *Aḥ.T.*, p. 308; *Af.T.*, fol. 121b; *T.I.N.S.*, Add. 23,513, fol. 426a; *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī*, fol. 237a.

[3] *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 434; *Af.T.*, fol. 122a.

[4] *Af.T.*, fol. 117b.

[5] *A.N.*, vol. i, pp. 418-9n; Dr. Hidāyat Ḥosain reads it as Żī'l-ḥijja—*M.R.*, vol. i, p. 578.

[6] Bāyazīd gives Żī'l-ḥijja, 949—fol. 3b—and this is quite like him.

CHAPTER III

FROM HERĀT TO THE SAFAVID COURT

1. Humāyūn's letter to Shah Ṭahmāsp asking permission to visit Mashhad

Humāyūn wrote a letter to Shāh Ṭahmāsp asking his permission to visit Mashhad. It is quite probable that he sent it from Herāt. The following is the letter of Humāyūn to the Shāh:

Perpetual kingdom and eternity are not ours;
It is God to whom belong perpetual kingdom and eternity.

After the expression of sincerity and the formalities of intimacy, it is being made manifest on the enlightened heart which is the mirror of the pictures of the invisible and receptacle of the reflection of the pictures of the infallible, that, as from the day of eternity without beginning the dust of the existence of this lover (Humāyūn) was mixed with the water of the affection of the family of the Prophet, the repository of purity, and of the glorious descendants of the family of the Prophet and of the innocent *Imāms*, and that by the blessings and help of the holy Prophet, for some time from the council of the court of God—May His grandeur be glorified and may His bounties be universal—the Scribes of Destiny and Fate recorded the delightful signet of—Thou givest honour whom Thou likest—in the name of this distracted self, and the Keeper of the seals of—Say, O! God, the possessor of kingdom—decorated it with the exalted mandate of—Thou bestowest kingdom upon whom Thou likest—, so far as possible (this humble self) made perfect efforts in and gave full attention to exalting the flags of faith and executing the injunctions of the religion of the chief of the prophets. With that satisfaction there remained no longing and expectation in the heart of this cordial lover and eternal friend. Every desire which may be depicted in the power of imagination and conception of a man was fulfilled by the grace of the beneficent God without obligation to any created being except that he had not the honour of the great bliss and high position of going round the abodes of the innocent *Imāms* round which the angels walk, and especially the holy sepulchre, the mausoleum of al-Riẓā and (the bliss) of the illuminating benefits of the highly elevated (sidra-ranked) king of genii and men, (verse):

It is he whose foot-dust is the collyrium of our eyes;
It is he who is our guide and *Imām* in the world and hereafter;

that is, the *Imām*, nourisher of the poor, the holy king, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī bin Mūsā al-Riẓā—Thousands of benedictions and peace be upon him—. At all times in the morning and evening, rather continually, he, with all humility and submission, was praying to the Omniscient for the means of obtaining this bliss till the effect of the sincere prayer of this caller (Humāyūn)

appeared, and the breeze of kindness reached the smelling-place of the soul of the dwellers of 'the abode of sorrows' of separation and grief and heat according to—Thou shalt never find a change in the way of God—(and) the heavenly voice and the indubitable caller with his hand on the chain of the door of Ḥaẓrat *Imām*—May benedictions and peace be upon him—(announced) verse:

Your abode is paradise;
You should feel ashamed that you come and stay on earth.

When the voice from heaven reached the ear of his sense, he, like the true dawn with all desire and perfect sincerity of purpose and the grace of devotion turned sincerely towards that (i.e. visiting the tomb of the *Imām*), making the surface of the inward mirror quite clear of the marks of abundance of suspicion. But notwithstanding this, he was waiting for the issue of the permission and consent of Your Majesty which is in fact the real permission for making pilgrimage to the holy abode, viz. the holy sepulchre of the *Imām*—May benedictions and peace be upon him—till the gracious letter —Just like the revelation descending from the heaven and that is a written book to which the near ones bear testimony and it is in books, held in honour, exalted and kept pure by the hands of writers, honourable and pious—containing the happy blessings from the dwellers of the court of His Majesty, the shadow of God, reached this true lover awaiting instructions, intimating him of (the permission of) availing the interview. And the tongue, donning the garb of a pilgrim (*iḥram*) with this saying:

How good are your compliments which are the comfort to the peace of the soul;
How good is your word which is the key to the treasures of victories;

along with the caravans of hope, responded to the call. Being fully overpowered by ecstasy, he set out without delay for the *Ka'ba* of hope and expectations and proceeded towards the destination, holding with firm hand the strong ring of the people of the house of leadership and sainthood (i.e. the family of the prophet), taking for the guide of his path, through the valley of bewilderment and the forest of distraction, the significance of the tradition—The example of the members of my family is like that of the ark of Noah—. And the remaining good (deeds) are better before your God as regards rewards and good hope.

2. Reply of the Sh̲ah of Īrān to the above letter of Humāyūn

According to Jauhar Humāyūn received at Herāt a letter from the Sh̲āh instructing him to proceed to Mas̲h̲had.[1] The letter is most probably in reply to his own letter. The reply of Sh̲āh Ṭahmāsp is as follows:

There came out a lapwing with the crown of greatness upon its head
And with the letter of prosperity and glory tied on its wings.

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[1] *T.W.*, MS. S., p. 113; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 52b.

The drops of the writings of the pearl-like pen were addressed by (Humāyūn) the matchless of the age and the selected one of God and the lover of the chosen Prophet, Aḥmad and brave Haidar and the holy family (of the two). By the perusal of the same in the most glorious time and noblest hour (the writer, i.e. the Shāh) became exalted. From the leaves of the esteemed letter and exalted epistle the different lights of love and affection appeared and became manifest. As the smell of the direction of the eminent *Nawwāb* (to proceed) to that side was found through the contents of the eloquent letter, the tongue of the parrot of speech and eloquence and the eloquent expression recited this verse in this way:

The phoenix of the summit of auspiciousness will fall in our net
If you happen to come to our place.

And as by going through the esteemed epistle and the contents of that kind letter, it was known and understood that the object of the inclination of your penetrating mind and the origin of the thoughts of your enlightened heart in this advent are not after anything but the agreeable manners of love for and the habits of obedience to the family of one who gives direction to the right way (i.e. the Prophet) and to the family of one who is the repository of sainthood (i.e. 'Alī), which, from the day of beginning, have been mixed with the pure disposition of your honourable self. And as a result of this faith, so much effects of victory and success according to the sense of the verse— If you seek victory, verily victory has come unto you—will appear from the Opener of the doors (God), one of whose secrets is—We opened the doors of heaven—and from the Causer of the causes of decree and fiat (God) of whose ocean of wisdom one drop is—So that what God decrees becomes an accomplished fact—that the tongue of the universe and mankind will chant this auspicious discourse: verse,

The world is as desired, the sky is the slave and the angel is invoking blessing;
Hope is fresh, state is strong and fortune is youthful;
Victory is to the right and prosperity to the left;
The sky is below the stirrup and. . . . . below the reins.

The world-conquering help and the enemy-destroying move will be the cause of assistance—And if God helps you, you have none to overcome you; so He will help you and with it steps will be firm, and redress with troops which you do not see—. The happy tidings of the dawn of dominion and the high flags of victory and success will be raised to the summit of the seventh heaven, and the garden of the court of that lover of the family of the Prophet, which (is signified by) the holy verse—Its expanse is like the expanse of the skies and the earth—and that young plant of sincerity and rose-bush of intimacy will grow most beautifully. That is the bounty of God; He gives it to whomsoever he wishes and God is the possessor of great bounties. It is hoped that there will appear such indications of bliss and victory after the gracious meeting as will illustrate the fact indicated by—Which the eyes did not see, nor the ears did hear; nor it struck the heart of human beings. The nobles of Hindūstān, Turkistān

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and Īrān and Tūrān will witness all this and these will be talked of for ages. By the grace of God the blackfaced enemies and hypocrites of Hindūstān shall be reduced to black dust and with the brightness of the flaming sword all those wicked persons shall be destroyed and the darkness of infidelity and the obscurity of that direction will be changed with the light of this guidance—And God guides whom He desires to the right way—and the whole universe and all people will see the face of victory and triumph in the mirror of the world-illuminating sword, if God, the One and the Glorious wishes.[1]

3. Humāyūn at Jām

Humāyūn left Herāt for Mas͟hhad by the way of Jām. Aḥmad Sulṭān S͟hāmlū, governor of Sīstān, who had so long accompanied the king, now left the royal party and returned. Humāyūn reached Jām on 5 Muḥarram, 951/29 March, 1544. Abu'l-Faẓl's date, 5 Żī'l-ḥijja, 950/29 February, 1544, is obviously a mistake for 5 Muḥarram, as Beveridge suggests. Humāyūn could not have left Herāt at the beginning of Żī'l-ḥijja as he witnessed the *Naurūz* festival in the fourth week of March.[2] At Jām Humāyūn visited the shrines of S͟hihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad-al-Jāmī and S͟hāh Qāsim-i-Anwār and offered his prayer there.[3] Aḥmad-al-Jāmī was so celebrated that Tīmūr also visited his shrine in person. He was the ancestor of Humāyūn's mother Māham Begam and of his wife Ḥamīda Bānu Begam. There is an inscription of Humāyūn in the shrine at Jām commemorating his arrival there. The king wrote a verse with his own hand on the marble covering the tomb of Aḥmad-i-Jām. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, the author of the *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī*, visited the shrine in person in 1020 A.H./1611 A.D. and saw and read the verse, but he could not quote it in his book as he did not remember the lines at the time of writing. Only some words in connection with the name of Humāyūn he remembered and he quotes them which agree with the last line, as given by N. Elias.[4] 'Abdu'l-Bāqī says that Bairām also wrote one verse on the tomb. He adds that Humāyūn wrote the verse while on his way to the S͟hāh's capital. It is difficult to reconcile the date given in the inscription, 14 S͟hawwāl, 951/29 December, 1544, with the chronology we have adopted. Either the date in the

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[1] The above letter of Humāyūn to S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp and its reply occur in the British Museum MS. Add. 7688 and also in Or. 3482. Vide Appendix D. & E.

[2] If Humāyūn remained at Herāt up to 27 March, 1544, and reached Jām on 29, he must have made a very rapid journey. The distance from Herāt to Jām is about 100 miles.

The *T.I.N.S.*, Add. 23,513, fol. 426a, and the *Tārīk͟h-i-Ibrāhīmī*, fol. 237a, say that Humāyūn reached Jām in the beginning of Żī'l-ḥijja. All historians, who follow Abu-'l-Faẓl, commit the same mistake and give the date 5 Żī'l-ḥijja, e.g. *Iqbāl-nāma*, vol. i, fol. 74b; I.O.MS. No. 224, fol. 8a; *H.R.*, fol. 166b. Erskine accepts the wrong date, 5 Zī'l-ḥijja.—*History*, vol. ii, p. 279.

[3] *M.R.*, vol. ii, p. 18. Qāsim-i-Anwār 'died and was buried in K͟hardjird in the district of Djām.'—*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. ii, pp. 798-9.

[4] *M.R.*, vol. i, p. 588; *J.R.A.S.*, London, 1897, p. 47.

inscription is not correct or Humāyūn made a second visit to Jām nine months later, as Beveridge suggests.

4. Humāyūn at Mashhad

Humāyūn could stay at Jām only for a few days as he reached Mashhad on 15 Muḥarram, 951/8 April, 1544.[1] When Humāyūn reached the vicinity of Mashhad, the prominent people of the city came out to receive him and two or three leagues from the city they met the king. Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Istājlū,[2] governor of Mashhad, also followed and went to receive him. The governor and the nobles led the king to the city where he was housed at the Chahār Bāgh, which was the royal residence, and his followers and servants also were given proper quarters. Jauhar says that Humāyūn stayed at Mashhad for forty days.[3] Very often he used to visit the shrine of *Imām* Riẓā [4] and even spent whole nights there to say his prayer and made lavish gifts of presents to the priests and servants.[5] Humāyūn is said to have ordered that one of the royal bows should be suspended on the gate of the shrine as an offering. At Mashhad he received another letter from the Shāh directing him to proceed to Qazwīn.[6]

5. From Mashhad to Qi'la Dars

If Humāyūn stayed at Mashhad for forty days, as Jauhar says, he left for Nīshāpūr on about 26 Ṣafar, 951/19 May, 1544. In two days he reached Nīshāpūr.[7] The governor of the place received him with proper respect. Humāyūn visited the famous turquoise mines near Nīshāpūr.[8] From Nīshāpūr he proceeded towards Sabzawār, and, passing through the 'undulating range of ugly hills' over which the road lay, he arrived at that place in six days.[9] According to Jauhar Humāyūn stayed there for forty days.[10] The special reason for his long stay there was that the king had great intimacy with Amīr Barka who was a relation of Shamsu'd-dīn-'Alī Sulṭān, governor of Sabzawār.[11] The governor gave sumptuous

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[1] *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī*, fol. 237b; *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 435; *Iqbāl-nāma*, vol. i, fol. 75a. The *T.I.N.S.* says that Humāyūn reached Mashhad in Muḥarram, 951.

[2] The *Af.T.*, fol. 123a, gives a different name.

[3] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 113; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 52b. Bāyazīd, fol. 10b, the *Af.T.*, fol. 123a and the *M.A.A.*, fol. 78b, simply say that Humāyūn spent some days at Mashhad.

[4] The shrine of *Imām* Riẓā has been described by Fraser in '*Journey into Khorasan*', pp. 472-3 and by Curzon in '*Persia and the Persian Question*', vol. i, pp. 154–9.

[5] *T.A.M.*, fol. 206a; *R.S.*, foll. 87a-b.

[6] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 114; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 53a.

[7] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 114; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 53a.

[8] The turquoise mines are about 36 miles in a north-westerly direction from Nīshāpūr—Curzon, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 264-5.

[9] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 114; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 53a.

[10] The *Af.T.*, fol., 123a, says that Humāyūn stayed for three days only.

[11] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 27a; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 53a. This portion is a bit different in MS. S. and the P.U.MS. of Jauhar—pp. 114-5, fol. 51b.

Jauhar, Bāyazīd, fol. 10b, and the *Af.T.*, fol. 123*a*, say that Shamsu'd-dīn 'Alī Sulṭān was the governor of Sabzawār. The *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 435, says that he was the governor of Nīshāpūr.

entertainments in honour of Humāyūn. We are told that one thousand cups, gilded in Khurāsān, full of soup, were served at dinner.[1] We do not know the duration of Humāyūn's stay at Nīshāpūr. Supposing that he stayed there for a week, we can say that he left Sabzawār by 24 Rabi'u's-sānī, 951/15 July, 1544. It does not seem that Humāyūn's stay at Nīshāpūr was longer; in that case Jauhar would probably have mentioned it, as he does on other occasions.

From Sabzawār the royal party proceeded to Ṣūfīābād. Abu'l-Faẓl and all other historians who follow him [2] say that Humāyūn reached Ṣūfīābād after having passed through Dāmaghān and Bisṭām. As Beveridge points out, 'Ṣūfīābād lies far to the east of Samnān and Bisṭām, and would naturally be reached by Humāyūn before them'. It was quite probable that Humāyūn went to Ṣūfīābād either from Sabzawār or from Nīshāpūr. As Sabzawār is nearer Ṣūfīābād than Nīshāpūr, it is more probable that he went there from Sabzawār.[3] According to the *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī* Humāyūn visited Ṣūfīābād at the end of Rabī'u's-sānī, 951/third week of March, 1544 and this date agrees with the chronology we have adopted.[4]

From Ṣūfīābād the party proceeded to Dāmaghān where Humāyūn saw the mysterious fountain. In two days the party arrived at Bisṭām. Here Humāyūn visited the shrine of Shaikh Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī.[5] From Bisṭām Humāyūn, it appears, went to Khurqān, for we are told that he visited the tomb of Shaikh Abu'l-Ḥusain Khurqānī which was at Khurqān.[6] He left Khurqān for Samnān where he visited the tomb of Shaikh Alau'd-daula Samnānī.[7] Jauhar mentions several places at which Humāyūn stopped on his way from Samnān to Qazwīn but these can hardly be identified and

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[1] *Af.T.*, fol. 123a.

[2] *E.G. Iqbāl-nāma*, fol. 75a; I.O.MS. No. 224, fol. 8b; *M.A.A.*, fol. 79a.

[3] Ṣūfīābād is in Kurdistān-i-Khurāsān. 'The extensive valley above spoken of (i.e. Mashhad) contains a considerable portion of the district known by the appellation Koordistan, because it is inhabited by Koordish colonies. The large villages of Jajera, Sooffeeabad and others lie between the hills which confine it on the south-west, and the Jugghetai range; and further to the west are found those of Sooltaun Meydan and its dependencies.'—*Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan* by James B. Fraser, pp. 249-50. The *M.A.A.*, fol. 79a, mentions Ṣūfīābād after Samnān. The *M.R.*, vol. i, p. 589, says that Ṣūfīābād lay in Samnān. Erskine, following Abu'l-Faẓl, says that Humāyūn went to Ṣūfīābād after he had visited Dāmaghān, Bisṭām and Samnān.—*History*, vol. ii, p. 280.

[4] *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī*, fol. 237b; it, however, says that Humāyūn visited the tomb after he had visited Bisṭām.

[5] 'Bostam is a site of great sanctity among Mahomedan pilgrims, for here was buried the famous Sheikh, or Sultan, Bayazid, the leader of a dervish sect, who died, and was interred in the court of a beautiful mosque, now much ruined, in the year A.D. 874.'—Curzon, *op. cit.*, p. 283. The *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī*, fol. 237b, says that Humāyūn reached Bisṭām in Rabi'u'l-awwāl, 951.

[6] *M.R.*, vol. ii, p. 19. 'Four leagues from Bisṭām, on the road towards Astarâbâd was the town of Khurkân.'—Le Strange, p. 366.

[7] *M.R.*, vol. ii, p. 19. The *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 436, the I.O.MS. No. 224, fol. 8b, and the *Iqbāl-nāma*, fol. 75a, say that Humāyūn visited the tomb of Shaikh 'Alāu'd-daula Samnānī at Ṣūfīābād. This is not correct. Sidi 'Alī Rais, the Turkish admiral, writes

are not places of much importance. They are the fort of Aghżwār,[1] the fountain of Alḥāq,[2] the fort of Maimana,[3] the fountain of Suq Bilāq,[4] and the fort of Dars. Of these places, Suq Bilāq is probably Sāūj Bulāgh which lies half-way between Ray and Qazwīn,[5] and Dars is near Ray.[6] According to the *Humāyūn-nāma* in verse, Humāyūn went to Qazwīn via Sāva [7] but no other chronicle refers to his going to Sāva.

6. Bairām Beg at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp

According to Jauhar Humāyūn sent Bairām Beg as his ambassador to the Shāh from the fort of Dars in response to the Shāh's letter. Other historians state that Bairām was sent from Qazwīn.[8] Jauhar's account of Bairām Beg at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp differs from that given by other writers. Bairām Beg, attended by ten horsemen,[9] went to Qazwīn and paid his respects to the Shāh. Soon after his arrival Shāh Ṭahmāsp ordered him to cut off his hair and put on a Persian cap. Bairām represented that as he was the servant of another monarch, he could only do so with his master's consent. Shāh Ṭahmāsp became displeased and told Bairām that he might do as he pleased, but in order to frighten him the Shāh ordered some prisoners, sentenced to death, to be executed in his presence.[10] Abu'l-Faẓl says that Bairām met the Shāh near his summer quarters, Sulṭāniya and Sūrlīq. Bairām conveyed his master's message to the Shāh and then returned to Qazwīn 'with joyful foot'. Whether his joy was due to Shāh Ṭahmāsp's kind treatment, as Abu'l-Faẓl would have us believe, or it was due to his having easily escaped from the Shāh's fury, can obviously

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that he visited the tomb of the Shaikh at Samnān.—*The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Ali Rais*, English trans. by A. Vambery, p. 91.

It may be noted that 'Alī Rais visited the tombs of Shaikh Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī and Shaikh Abu'l-Ḥusain Khurqānī as well.

[1] اغدوار in the I.O.MS., fol. 27a; اعذر in the P.U.MS., fol. 51b; اعذ in MS. S., p. 115; اغذوار in Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 53a; Stewart has 'Ayhzvar'.

[2] الحاق in the I.O.MS., fol. 27a; and in the P.U.MS., fol. 51b; Stewart has 'Alhak'; MS. S., p. 115, has اسحاق ; in Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 53a, الحاق (Alḥāq or Asḥāq ?).

[3] The I.O.MS. and Faiẓī Sirhindī have ميمنه ; MS. S. and the P.U.MS. have مسمه and Stewart has 'Mesmyeh'.

[4] The I.O.MS., fol. 27a, and Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 53b, have سوق بلاق ; MS. S. and the P.U.MS. have سادوق يلاق ; Stewart has 'Savuk Belak'.

[5] Le Strange, p. 218. [6] Erskine, vol. ii, p. 280. [7] MS. Or. 1797, fol. 38b.

[8] *A.N.*; *T.A.*; *M.R.*; Firishta, Bombay Ed., vol. i, p. 412; *Z.W.M.A.*, vol. iii, p. 1008; *Iqbāl-nāma*, fol. 75b; *T.Alf.*, fol. 418b; *M.A.A.*, fol. 79a; *H.R.*, fol. 168a; *Zubdatu't-Tawārīkh*, fol. 78a; *T.Kh.T.*, fol. 286a; *A.A.A.*, p. 75. From the *Jahānāra* it seems also that Bairām could not have met the Shāh at Qazwīn, for we are told at fol. 222b that the Shāh left Qazwīn for Ilāq on Thursday, 14 Rabī'u's-sānī whereas Bairām went to see the Shāh after 11 Jumāda-al-awwāl—vide sec. 1, Chapter IV.

[9] MS. S. and the P.U.MS. have دو two—p. 117, fol. 52b. The I.O.MS., fol. 27a, and Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 53b, have ده ten.

[10] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 117; P.U.MS., foll. 52b-53a; Faiẓī Sirhindī, foll. 53b-54a.

be guessed. The *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī* gives a rosy picture of Bairām at the Shāh's court, which presents a striking contrast to the account given by Jauhar. When Bairām arrived near the Shāh's court at Ilāq Sūrlīq, he was welcomed with a princely reception. First, the Turkamāns who were his kinsmen, and then the Persians with the grandees of the realm came to receive him by order of the Shāh and he was granted interview with the Shāh with great honour and pomp. The poor pen of the author cannot adequately describe the unique treatment that was accorded to his patron's father by the ruler of Īrān—so writes 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. The Shāh also had discussion with Bairām about the meeting between him and Humāyūn and then Bairām returned to Qazwīn.[1]

Bāyazīd dismisses the matter very briefly. He says that Bairām Beg was sent to the Shāh in advance and he presented his master's letter at the interview in Zanjān and then returned with a reply. From Bāyazīd it appears probable that Bairām was sent after Humāyūn had arrived at Qazwīn.[2] Niẓāmu'd-dīn simply says that Bairām was sent from Qazwīn to the Shāh who was at Sūrlīq, and he returned with a letter from the Shāh, in which the latter welcomed Humāyūn and expressed pleasure at his coming.[3] Badāūni, as might be expected, merely summarizes Niẓāmu'd-dīn. Firishta reproduces Niẓāmu'd-dīn's words but says that Bairām met the Shāh at Bilāq Qidār.[4] The chroniclers of the Safavid side do not refer to the sending of Bairām Beg as ambassador to the Shāh.

Jauhar thus tells an entirely different story. There is no reason for discrediting the version of Jauhar. Abu'l-Faẓl, Niẓāmu'd-dīn, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and other court historians would naturally hesitate to write anything which was insulting to a king of the Chaghatāi dynasty. Bāyazīd, who sometimes utters truth, and Badāūni, from whom truth might be expected, are too brief to be of any use. The chroniclers of the Safavid side might naturally hide facts which would blacken the reputation of their monarch as exploiting the misfortune of a helpless guest. Jauhar was in Humāyūn's service, and there cannot be any reason why he should have given a false account, which is derogatory to his patron king. In fact had not simple Jauhar written his memoirs, truth regarding Humāyūn's life in Persia would remain always hidden.

7. From the Fort of Dars to the Shāh's Court

At Dars Humāyūn received two other letters from Shāh Ṭahmāsp. In the third letter the Shāh sent instructions to Humāyūn to proceed to Qazwīn, to stay there for three days and then to come to pay him respects. Humāyūn accordingly left Dars and proceeded towards Qazwīn through the plains of Khaur.[5] When he reached Qazwīn, the capital of Īrān, Khwāja 'Abdu'l-Ghanī, with the grandees and people of the place, received

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[1] *M.R.*, vol. i, p. 590.
[2] *Mukhtaṣar*, fol. 10b.
[3] *T.A.*, p. 209.
[4] *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*, vol. i, p. 236.
[5] Description of Khaur in Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

the fugitive monarch with ostentatious hospitality. The Shāh had already left the capital for his summer quarters. Humāyūn remained at Qazwīn for three days, as he was ordered by the Shāh.[1] During his stay there Humāyūn was entertained by the magistrate on the first day; on the second day the Qāẓī became his host; and on the third day he received the hospitality of the common folk. Humāyūn visited also 'the remarkable buildings and holy places' which the first city of Īrān could furnish.

Humāyūn left Qazwīn on the fourth day in the afternoon. Next morning Bairām Khān returned and joined the party.[2] There is some confusion about Bairām's movement. Bairām met the Shāh at Qazwīn and therefore he should have met the royal party on its way to Qazwīn or at Qazwīn, if he stayed on at that place after the Shāh's departure. As Bairām met Humāyūn on his way from Qazwīn to the Shāh's court, it seems that Bairām accompanied the Shāh from Qazwīn to his summer residence or to the fountain of Jaky Jaky for which he left the capital and that he was returning from there. This view makes a compromise between the statement of Jauhar that Bairām met the Shāh at Qazwīn and that of other historians who say that he met the Shāh in his summer capital.

In two days, it seems from Jauhar, Humāyūn arrived near the summer city of the Shāh where the two monarchs were to meet. It is difficult to say exactly where the Shāh was staying at this time and where the meeting took place. Bāyazīd says that the two kings met at Zanjān.[3] Some chroniclers say that the meeting occurred at Ilāq Sūrlīq,[4] which is five or six days' journey from Qazwīn.[5] Others say that the meeting-place was between Abhar and Sulṭānīya.[6] Firishta names the place of meeting as Bilāq Qadār which lies between Abhar and Sulṭānīya.[7] Some of the

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[1] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 118; I.O.MS., fol. 27b; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 54a. The *K.M.*, fol. 123b, says that Humāyūn remained at Qazwīn for a few days in order to remove the fatigue of the journey.

[2] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 118. Bāyazīd says that Bairām met Humāyūn when the latter arrived near Zanjān—fol. 10b.

[3] *Mukhtaṣar*, fol. 10b. Zanjān is twenty-one miles from Sulṭānīya.—Kinneir, *A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*, p. 377.

[4] The *T.Alf.* has Sūrāq (سوراق) or Ilāq Sūrīq—fol. 419a. Ilāq Sūrlūq in Āżarbāijān in *Af.T.*, foll. 123b, 124a; Ilāq Sūriq or Sūrlaq in Badāūnī, vol. i, p. 444; Bilāq Sūrlīq in Niẓāmu'd-dīn, p. 209; Ilāq Sūrīq in the *Haft Iqlīm*, fol. 182a (MS. 283) and fol. 11?a (MS. 282); as well as in the *R.T.*, fol. 622b, the *T.Kh.T.*, fol. 286a and the *M.T.Y.*, fol. 468a. The *A.A.A.*, p. 75, has ييلاق سورق.

[5] *M.R.*, vol. ii, p. 19. *Manzil* means a stage in travelling or a day's journey.—Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*.

[6] The *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 436, says that the Shāh was 'encamped between Abhar and Sulṭānīya' when Humāyūn came to pay his respects. The *M.A.A.*, fol. 79b, the *H.R.*, fol. 168a, I.O.MS. No. 224, fol. 8b and the *M.R.*, vol. i, p. 590 have the same. In the second volume of the *M.R.*, p. 19, we are told that the meeting took place in Sulṭānīya.

[7] Firishta, Bombay Ed., vol. i, p. 445; *Majāmī'u'l-akhbār*, fol. 392a.

chronicles of the Safavid side say that the meeting took place at Abhar.[1] From the *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh* it seems that Humāyūn met the Shāh at Chaman-i-Qurwa, but the Shāh soon left for Sūrlīq.[2] According to Khur Shāh the meeting-place was Qazwīn.[3] Sulṭānīya is also mentioned as the place of meeting.[4]

The Shāh of Persia had been arranging for the reception of Humāyūn with ceremony and magnificence becoming the Safavid court. The Shāh had sent his nobles to receive Humāyūn at every place from Dāmaghān to his court.[5] When he reached the stage, one day's journey from the camp of the Shāh, he was first welcomed by the nobles and the common people. He was then received by Qāẓī Jahān Qazwīnī, the *wazīr*, as well as other big officers, Sūndak Beg, the Qūrchībāshī, Shāh Qulī Khalifā, the keeper of the seals, and others. When Humāyūn arrived within one league of the Shāh's camp, he was received by the princes of the royal family, Sām Mīrzā [6] and Bahrām Mīrzā, brothers of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Sulṭān Haidar Mīrzā, Sulṭān Musṭafa Mīrzā and Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā.[7] Sām Mīrzā alighted from his horse when he received Humāyūn. Humāyūn also got down and they embraced each other. Bahrām Mīrzā brought for the king a dress of honour and a horse named Gezālah.[8] Humāyūn was clothed in the dress brought for him, but he seems to have refused to wear the Persian cap. It (Gezālah) was a wild horse, and the Persians intended to try Humāyūn's skill in horsemanship. The horse, however, proceeded without creating the least trouble, and they were astonished at the skill of Humāyūn. As Humāyūn proceeded, all sorts of people, high and low, who were riding Kirmanian horses, came to receive him; the object was to prove that all people, high and low, were equals of the king.[9] Amīr Maḥmūd and Iskandar Munshī simply say that the people and Qūrchīs, batch by batch, came to Humāyūn and paid him respects, but do not refer to the studied insult meted out to the exiled king.

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[1] *R.S.*, fol. 87b; *Sharaf-nāma*, Tome ii, p. 196; *Jahānārā*, fol. 222b; *K.M.*, foll. 123b–124a; *Zubdatu't-Tawārīkh* of Muḥammad Afẓal Ḥusain, fol. 14b; *Asār-i-Shāh-jahānī*, fol. 55a; *Mujmal-i-mufaṣṣal*, fol. 205b; *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh* of Ḥasan, fol. 121b.

[2] *Aḥ.T.*, p. 309.

[3] *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, fol. 59a.

[4] *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī*, fol. 237b; *T.I.N.S.*, Add. 23,513, fol. 426b; *M.R.*, vol. ii, p. 19.

[5] *T.Alf.*, fol. 418b; *T.Kh.T.*, fol. 286a; *M.T.Y.*, fol. 468a.

[6] Stewart, p. 92, says that he was the son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, which is wrong.

[7] *Af.T.*, fol. 123b; *A.A.A.*, p. 75.

[8] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 28a, and Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 54b, say that the name of the horse was غزاله. Stewart, p. 93, has 'a Gezaleh (unbroke) horse'. MS. S., p. 119, and the P.U.MS., fol. 54a, have اسب غزاله. غزاله according to Steingass means a fawn just able to walk.

[9] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 120; P.U.MS., foll. 54a-b. The I.O.MS., fol. 28a and Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 55a give a different account and say that the object of the Shāh was that all people, big and small, should see and attend on Humāyūn.

CHAPTER IV

AT THE SAFAVID COURT

1. The Meeting of the Two Monarchs

There is a difference of opinion among historians as regards the treatment accorded to Humāyūn by the Shāh. All historians of Mughul India give us a rosy picture of the behaviour of the Shāh and intentionally do not refer to the insults which Humāyūn had to suffer at the Safavid court. The other side of the picture we find only in the frank and straightforward memoirs of Jauhar. The historians of the Safavid side naturally gloss over facts which would prove their monarch an inhospitable person who dishonoured a royal guest, seeking his protection. The Shāh himself boasts in his memoirs of the excellent treatment he accorded to Humāyūn.[1] There is one historian, who in substance, confirms the statements of Jauhar—he is Sharaf Khān, the author of the *History of Kurdistān*.

According to Amīr Maḥmūd, when Humāyūn approached the camp of the Shāh, he alighted from his horse and in company with Bahrām Mīrzā and Sām Mīrzā proceeded to see Shāh Ṭahmāsp. The Shāh, on seeing king Humāyūn from a distance, advanced a few steps to the edge of the carpet to receive him, as Jauhar says. Shāh Ṭahmāsp embraced Humāyūn and seated him to his right on the carpet.[2] He made kind enquiries about Humāyūn's health and journey. The Shāh then told Humāyūn that he desired him to put on the Persian cap (*tāj*). Humāyūn agreed and both to flatter his host and justify his action replied that a *tāj* (crown) was an emblem of greatness and he would with pleasure wear it. Shāh Ṭahmāsp then with his own hands placed the cap on Humāyūn's head.[3]

Jauhar, Khur Shāh and Abu'l-Fazl describe the ceremonies held for the reception of Humāyūn.[4] Tents were pitched, pavilions were raised and

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1 *Tażkira-i-Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, Berlin Ed., p. 79.

2 Stewart's Jauhar says that the two kings embraced—p. 94, but Sir J. N. Sarkār's MS., p. 120, the P.U.MS., fol. 54b and the I.O.MS., fol. 28a, and Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 55, do not mention it. According to the *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, fol. 58b, when Humāyūn arrived, the Shāh advanced a few steps to receive him, embraced him and gave him a seat by his side. The *Af.T.*, fol. 123b, says that the Shāh went on horseback to receive Humāyūn when he arrived at the camp, and embraced him on horseback. According to the *T.A.M.*, fol. 207a, the Shāh came up to the edge of the rope of the tent (بسر طناب پیش خانه) and gave him a seat very close to him. Gulbadan Begam says that when the brothers of the Shāh informed him of Humāyūn's arrival, the Shāh himself came riding to meet the emperor and they embraced.—*Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 169. The *A.A.A.*, p. 75, says that the Shāh came out of his special tent and embraced Humāyūn. The *F.S.*, fol. 20a, follows the *T.I.N.S.*

3 Jauhar, MS. S., p. 120.

4 'The magnificent festivities held on this occasion are commemorated in a wall-painting in the pavilion of Čihil-Sutūn in Iṣfahān.'—*Encyclopaedia of Islam*,

befitting arrangements were made by the royal servants. 'In a noble palace, on the gilding of which skilful artists had long been engaged and in which they had displayed miracles of craftsmanship, an enchanting picture-gallery received its inauguration by the interview with his Majesty Jahānbānī. A regal assemblage took place'.[1] Trumpets were sounded at intervals to announce the arrival of so honoured a guest 'at the foot of the imperial throne'. Entertainments were arranged in which Humāyūn's butler spread the cloth at the request of the Shāh. According to Khur Shāh Humāyūn presented to Shāh Ṭahmāsp on this occasion several pieces of ruby and emerald and the great diamond weighing six and a half *misqāls*, which he had obtained from the family of Bikramājīt, the Rāja of Gwāliār after the defeat of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī at Pānīpat.[2]

Abu'l-Fazl gives the date of the meeting of the two monarchs as Jumāda-al-awwāl, 951/21 July to 19 August, 1544.[3] According to our chronology Humāyūn left Sabzawār by 24 Rabī'u's-sānī, 951/15 July, 1544. From Sabzawār to Ṣūfīabād it is a distance of about seventy miles which he could have covered in two or three days. From Ṣūfīabād to Dāmaghān the distance is about one hundred and forty miles which, we may guess, Humāyūn took five or six days to travel. From Dāmaghān Humāyūn reached Bisṭām in two days. Therefore we obtain the approximate date of his arrival at Bisṭām—6 Jumāda-al-awwāl, 951/26 July, 1544.[4] The distance from Bisṭām to Samnān is about one hundred and ten miles for which we have to take at least four days. The distance from Samnān to Ray is about one hundred miles, which Humāyūn could travel in four days, but Humāyūn waited for sometime at the fort of Dars near Ray where he received three letters from the Shāh. Supposing that Humāyūn stayed at Dars for one week, we find that he left for Qazwīn on about 21 Jumāda-al-awwāl, 951/10 August, 1544. From Ray to Qazwīn Humāyūn had to travel a distance of about ninety miles and he stayed at Qazwīn for three days. The distance from Qazwīn to the meeting-place between Abhar and Sulṭānīya is about sixty miles.[5] So it seems that the meeting between the two monarchs took place about the very end of Jumāda-al-awwāl or the third week of August, 1544.[6]

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vol. iv, p. 615. A copy of this picture by Texier is reproduced in this work, facing p. 38.

[1] *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 437.

[2] *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, fol. 58b. A misqāl is equivalent to a dram and three-sevenths. Khūr Shāh is not accurate when he says that Bābur got the diamond from the treasury of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī.

[3] The *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan*, fol. 121b, gives the date of the meeting as Rabi'u's-sānī, 951.

[4] 15+3+6+2 = 26.

[5] The distance from Qazwīn to Zanjān is about ninety miles, to Abhar about forty miles, to Sulṭānīya about seventy-five miles and the distance between Abhar and Sulṭānīya is about thirty-five miles. Therefore it was quite possible for Humāyūn to meet the Shāh in any of the places in two or three days from Qazwīn.

[6] 30 Jumāda-al-awwāl, 951, is 19 August, 1544.



Sh̲āh Ṭahmāsp
(*From an original Persian painting*)

[*To face p.* 26.

2. Jauhar our main guide: three periods of Humāyūn's stay with the Shāh

No writer describes in detail the events that occurred during Humāyūn's stay with the Shāh. Bāyazīd deals rather with his return from the Safavid court. Abu'l-Fazl, from whom details might be expected, is brief. Jauhar gives more details than any other history, but his account is, as is quite natural, unsystematic and deficient in chronology. The chroniclers of the Safavid side do not give much detail. Khur Shāh, the ambassador of Niẓām Shāh, who was in Īrān about that period, gives some details but not much. Amīr Maḥmūd describes in detail Humāyūn's life in Īrān prior to his arrival at the court of the Shāh. The historian has in the main to follow Jauhar and can only corroborate his statements by evidences from other sources.

Humāyūn's stay with the Shāh may be divided into three well-defined periods. The first period saw the attempts of the Shāh to convert Humāyūn; the second lasted for more than two months when the hostility of Shāh Ṭahmāsp reached its climax and there was complete cessation of any intercourse between the two monarchs; and the third covered those days when a *rapprochement* was arrived at, and the Shāh changed his attitude and made preparations for the recovery of Humāyūn's dominions.

3. Causes of dissension between Humāyūn and Shāh Ṭahmāsp

From the very beginning Humāyūn received ill treatment at the hands of the Shāh,[1] and Jauhar enumerates several causes of dissension between the two monarchs. Some disaffected nobles, Rūshan Kōka, Khwāja Ghāzī and Sulṭān Muḥammad, who were followers of Kāmrān, reached the court of the Shāh on their way from Mecca sometime after the arrival of Humāyūn. They told Shāh Ṭahmāsp that Humāyūn was deserted by his brothers because he had no ability, and they suggested that if the Shāh would supply them troops they would seize Qandahār for and deliver it to him.[2] Secondly, the Turkamān and Persian officers of the Shāh pleaded that if the Shāh would send them as auxiliary to the king, they feared treachery on the part of Humāyūn as his father Bābur, who had received constant help from Shāh Isma'īl, caused the slaughter of Najm Beg and twelve thousand men, who accompanied him, in the battle against the Uzbegs. This refers to the battle of Ghajdawān in which the Persians suspected Bābur of treachery.[3]

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[1] Cf. the instructions to the governors in the *farmān* to Muḥammad Khān: 'Soothe the hearts of this body of men which have been clouded somewhat by the revolutions of unequal fate, with affection and sympathy, as is proper and pleasing at seasons. Continue this practice throughout till they come to our presence. Thereafter, what is proper will be executed by ourselves'.—*A.N.*, vol. i, p. 423.

[2] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 127; P.U.MS., foll. 57b-58a. These two manuscripts do not refer to their suggesting to the Shāh to imprison Humāyūn as in Stewart, p. 100, and in the I.O.MS. of Jauhar, fol. 29b, and in Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 58b.

[3] The translation of this portion in Stewart, p. 101, seems to be wrong—at least it is different from the text in the manuscripts.

Thirdly, one day at Āgra, after his victorious return from Gujarāt, while Humāyūn was 'amusing himself with divining arrows', he wrote his own name on the twelve first class arrows and the name of S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp on the twelve second class arrows; and this several people reported to the S̲h̲āh. S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp now asked explanation from Humāyūn and his frank statement that he considered the S̲h̲āh inferior to him as Īrān was smaller than Hindūstān only angered the S̲h̲āh more.[1] Fourthly, Kāmrān also secretly wrote to the S̲h̲āh against his brother.[2]

These incidents mentioned by Jauhar were responsible to a certain extent for the S̲h̲āh's treatment of Humāyūn, but the real reasons were more deep-seated and lay elsewhere. These were religious and political—differences between the S̲h̲ī'ahs and the Sunnīs and the traditional rivalry of the Safavī and the C̲h̲ag̲h̲atāi dynasties. Even his warmest panegyrist, Sir John Malcolm, confesses that S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp was a bigot and like his father S̲h̲āh Isma'īl he aimed at spreading the S̲h̲ī'ah doctrine and extirpating the Sunnī creed.[3] Humāyūn was a Sunnī and the majority of his followers were Sunnīs. It was quite natural, therefore, that S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp would be hostile to Humāyūn on religious grounds.[4] Even from the pages of Jauhar we can find out how much of religious bigotry accounts for the harsh treatment the S̲h̲āh accorded to Humāyūn. The political reason is not less important. Humāyūn's father Bābur was the uncertain ally of S̲h̲āh Isma'īl and he had founded an empire in India. This personal hostility and dynastic rivalry caused Ṭahmāsp to regard Humāyūn as his enemy, and we find in Badāūnī and Firis̲h̲ta Bahrām Mīrzā emphasizing this point to the S̲h̲āh.[5] No moment could be more opportune to avenge the insult of the dynasty and the hostility of Bābur than when his son had taken refuge at his court as a suppliant. It is these two facts which account for the series of insults Humāyūn received from the S̲h̲āh from the very beginning. The S̲h̲āh even thought of taking Humāyūn's life and would probably have done so but for the generous interference of his sister and the tactful advice of his minister to effect a compromise.

4. The first period: attempts of the S̲h̲āh to convert Humāyūn

After the reception ceremonies were over, Humāyūn was lodged at night in the house of Bahrām Mīrzā. He enjoyed hot bath and had his hair cut off. Next morning the S̲h̲āh was leaving for Sulṭānīya, and when

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[1] Sir Jadunāth Sarkār's and the P.U. manuscripts of Jauhar do not give the story of divining arrows as in the I.O.MS., fol. 29b, Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 59a, and Stewart, p. 101. These two manuscripts of Jauhar simply say that one day, after his victorious return from Gujarāt, while Humāyūn was seated on the throne, he spoke to the general audience that he was superior to S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp in pomp and power and this several people reported to the S̲h̲āh.—MS. S., p. 128; P.U.MS., fol. 58a.

[2] Stewart does not mention this point.

[3] *History of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 511–3.

[4] In the *Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq*, fol. 1931a, we find Bahrām Mīrzā speaking to the S̲h̲āh that Humāyūn should not be given any help because he was a Sunnī.

[5] *M.T.*, vol. i, p. 444; Firis̲h̲ta, Bombay Ed. vol. i, p. 445.

Humāyūn paid his respects the Shāh did not respond.[1] Humāyūn became mortified at this, and though he accompanied the Shāh to Sulṭānīya, he halted at the tomb[2] of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda who was a champion of the Shī'ah faith, and repented for having sought protection of so ungenerous a king like Shāh Ṭahmāsp. The Shāh sent a message to Humāyūn that if he would accept the Shī'ah creed, he would give him all necessary help; otherwise he would be thrown into fire. Humāyūn replied that he would be firm in his religion and that he had no desire for sovereignty, and only asked permission to proceed to Mecca, for he had entered Persia as the route to Mecca lay through that territory. Shāh Ṭahmāsp then sent another message to the helpless king that he had been thinking of declaring war against the Sunnīs and it was quite good that a Sunnī king had himself come within his control. After this the Shāh sent to Humāyūn, Qāẓī Jahān who advised him to come to a compromise in view of the special circumstances in which he was placed.[3] The king then asked the Qāẓī to put the matter in writing and Qāẓī Jahān soon brought three papers from Shāh Ṭahmāsp. Humāyūn read two of the papers and approved of them, but he pondered over the third paper. The Shāh then came out to the corner of the camp and began to call aloud. Qāẓī Jahān again came to the king and advised him to temporize as it was not the time for the least disobedience. Humāyūn complained that the Shāh did not think that there should be no compulsion in religion.[4] However, he approved of the third paper as well.[5] This is the version of the India Office manuscript of Jauhar and of Faiẓī Sirhindī regarding the signing of the papers. They do not say anything about the contents of the papers, but it is quite obvious that as the matter was so humiliating to Humāyūn, and as he grumbled about the Shāh's intolerance, it involved his acceptance of the Shī'ah creed.

Sir Jadunāth Sarkār's and the Punjab University manuscripts of Jauhar give a different version of the matter:

While Humāyūn was seated in reflection under the dome of the shrine of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda, Qāẓī Jahān came to him. The king asked Qāẓī Jahān the reason why the Shāh had been displeased with him. He replied that the servants of the king were not in the right path—they spoke heresy; so the Shāh had been highly annoyed. At this Humāyūn said that he was at heart a loyal disciple of the *Imāms*. After this Qāẓī Jahān brought three papers written by Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and delivered two

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[1] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 28a; P.U.MS. fol. 55a; MS. S., p. 121; Faiẓī Sirhindī, foll. 55b-56a.

[2] The tomb has been described by Morier in '*A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople*', pp. 257-8.

[3] We are told by Firishta that Bairām Beg also advised moderation and compromise—vol. i, p. 237.

[4] Humāyūn had probably in mind the words of the Qur'ān : Sūra II (Baqara) 256.

[5] Jauhar, I.O.MS., foll. 28a-b; British Museum Add. 16,711, fol. 71b; Faiẓī Sirhindī, foll. 56a-b.

of them to Humāyūn. The king read them, rose from his seat and, having gone to the corner of the camp, began to reproach aloud the enemies of the Prophet and *Imāms*. Then the Shāh took a third paper and gave it to Humāyūn. Humāyūn read it in the presence of the Shāh and accepted the creed of the *Imāms*.[1]

There is no reference in these two manuscripts to Shāh Ṭahmāsp's threat to throw him into the fire if Humāyūn did not accept the Shī'ah faith.

Soon after this the Shāh arranged a hunting party to which he invited Humāyūn. It lasted for three days. Accidentally some deer escaped by the way where the Qūrchīs were placed, and they were fined one *tūmān* and one horse for each animal.[2]

It seems that Humāyūn's movement in Īrān was dictated by the Shāh and he had no freedom of action. When the hunting was over, Shāh Ṭahmāsp gave orders that Bahrām Mīrzā should escort Humāyūn to hunt at Takht-i-Sulaimān.[3] After one night's march the party reached there. A number of animals were enclosed there and the king amused himself in shooting. He viewed the scenes of Takht-i-Sulaimān and one thing which attracted his notice was a cave where State prisoners were confined. Next day he went to a place, eight miles from Takht-i-Sulaimān, for hunting. Shāh Ṭahmāsp also came to join him. It was the express order of the Shāh that no one, not even his brothers and great officers, should discharge an arrow without his permission. The Shāh, however, permitted Humāyūn and asked him to demonstrate his skill in shooting. Humāyūn was successful in shooting a deer and the Persians were astonished at his skill. Nine deer were presented to Humāyūn.

The party remained several days encamped on the hunting grounds. One day Humāyūn sent several pieces of diamonds and rubies through Bairām Beg as presents to the Persian monarch with a message that these were brought from Hindūstān expressly for him. Jauhar says that one of these diamonds was very large. This was the diamond Bābur obtained after the defeat of Ibrāhīm Lodī from Bikramājīt, the Raja of Gwāliār

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[1] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 122; P.U.MS., foll. 55a-b. Stewart on the whole agrees with the I.O.MS. and Faiẓī Sirhindī on these incidents but still differs in some details. Erskine also gives a bit different account and comments that 'the account is very confused in the only copy of the original which I have seen, and I am uncertain if I have always caught the sense'.—*History*, vol. ii, p. 286.

[2] Jauhar, I.O.MS., foll. 28b; P.U.MS., foll. 55b-56a; MS. S., p. 123; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 57a. Stewart has: 'several deer made their escape at that part of the circle where we were, for each of which the Persian demanded a fine of a horse and one Tuman'.—p. 97. It was certainly derogatory to the prestige of Humāyūn if his followers were fined by order of the Shāh.

[3] 36° 30′ N. 47° 35′ E. Stewart identifies Takht-i-Sulaimān with Persepolis but the two are different places. 'The remarkable ruins called Takht-i-Salaymān .... have been identified with the city Ash-Shiz. .... Sir H. Rawlinson would identify Takht-i-Salaymān or Shiz with the northern Ecbatana of the Greek writers.'—Le Strange, p. 224. Vincent Smith is wrong when he says that the Shāh sent Humāyūn 'to view the ruins of Persepolis'.—*Akbar the Great Mogul*, 2nd Ed., p. 17.

and most probably the celebrated Koh-i-nūr.[1] The Shāh was astonished to see these precious stones and his jewellers estimated that they were 'above all price'. He was pleased to accept such valuable presents and conferred on Bairām Beg the title of Khān.[2]

The granting of title to his own servant by the Shāh was derogatory to the prestige of Humāyūn. Humāyūn, of course, had no kingdom; yet he went to Īrān as a king—he was not a vassal of the Shāh. To confer on Bairām the title of Khān was certainly to pose as a superior sovereign and

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[1] Other historians say that Humāyūn presented this diamond when he first met the Shāh or very soon after the meeting. Khur Shāh says that Humāyūn presented the Shāh at their first meeting a very large diamond which weighed, according to Or. 153, six and a half *misqāls* and, according to Add. 23,513, seven *misqāls* and the price of which experts estimated at an amount equal to two and a half days' expenditure of the whole world. The Shāh, however, did not regard it as of so much value and sent it to Niẓām Shāh of the Deccan as present. This big diamond was acquired by Bābur from Ibrāhīm Lodī (which is not correct as already pointed out before).—*T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, foll. 58b-59a and Add. 23,513, fol. 426b. According to the *Jahānārā* the diamond weighed four *misqāls* and four *dānks*.—fol. 222b. The *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* says that, three days after his arrival at the Safavid court, the Shāh paid Humāyūn a visit when he presented Shāh Ṭahmāsp various gifts including rubies, cornelians and one very large diamond which was weighed by jewellers at twenty-four *misqāls* and four *dānks*.—fol. 124a. According to the *Rauẓatu's-Ṣafavīya*, fol. 88a, the diamond which Humāyūn presented to the Shāh weighed four and a half *misqāls*. Muḥammad Ṭāhir says that when Humāyūn met the Shāh at Chaman-i-Abhar, he presented the latter one piece of diamond weighing four *misqāls* and four *dānks*, a sapphire weighing three and a half *misqāls*, a ruby weighing five *misqāls* and a piece of emerald and one . . . . . . which jewellers estimated at a very high price. The Shāh placed the diamond on the top of his crown and (afterwards) sent it through Mihtar Jamāl to Niẓām Shāh, ruler of the Deccan.—*K.M.*, foll. 124a-b. The *Fawā'id-i-Ṣafavīya* gives details about the diamond at foll. 20a-b. It follows Khur Shāh and says that the diamond weighed six and a half *misqāls* which experts estimated at 'the expenses of the whole world for two and a half days', but the Shāh did not value it so much and sent it as a present to Niẓām Shāh through Āqā Sulṭān who was known as Mihtar Jamāl. Then it adds that Bābur Pādshāh in his Memoirs wrote about its value and that he gave it to his son and that this is also mentioned in the *Taẕkirat-al-wāqi'āt* and Firishta also says that it was sent along with other jewels to Burhān Niẓām Shāh who was a Shī'ah. After the extinction of the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom of the Deccan by the Mughuls, the Mughuls obtained possession of the diamond again. Now (i.e. 1211 A.H./1796-7 A.D.) the diamond is in possession of the Īrānians, rather the Durrānīs because Nādir Shah had carried it (from India). For the romantic history of the Koh-i-nūr vide E. W. Streeter, *The Great Diamonds of the World*, pp. 116–135, London, 1882. As Mrs. A. S. Beveridge has pointed out, even Streeter has not given the full history of the Koh-i-nūr, for he does not say anything about the diamond from the year 1526 when Bābur obtained it to the times of Shāh Jahān. The above note fills up this gap.

[2] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 29a; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 58b. According to the *Af.T.*, fol. 124b, Bairām Beg was given the title of Khān and Ruknu's-salṭānat when Humāyūn took leave of the Shāh. From the *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 440, and the *Iqbāl-nāma*, vol. i, fol. 77a, it seems that Bairām Beg received the title of Khān from Shāh Ṭahmāsp when Humāyūn was to leave the Safavid court. The *M.R.*, vol. ii, pp. 19-20, says that at the time of parting Bairām received the title of Khān from the Shāh as well as from Humāyūn but the Shāh was more responsible for granting this favour. The *A.A.A.*, p. 76, says that Shāh Ṭahmāsp conferred on Bairām the title of Khān Khānān.

treat Humāyūn as a subordinate chief. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī probably realized this point of view and this is why he tries to explain away the matter by saying that Bairām received the title of Khān both from Humāyūn and Ṭahmāsp.[1] At Qazwīn Bairām had refused to wear the Persian cap on the ground that he was the servant of another monarch, but he saw his monarch was obliged to wear that cap in order to please his exacting host. So Bairām had to accept the title, though his loyalty wanted him to decline that honour.

5. No intercourse for two months: the second period

The rejoicings of hunting were, it appears, immediately followed by estrangement of feeling between the two monarchs. After that, for two months, there was no intercourse of any kind between them.[2] Jauhar does not offer any convincing explanation why all on a sudden Shāh Ṭahmāsp stopped all intercourse with his fugitive guest. It seems that the wrath of the Shāh reached its climax during this period. Humāyūn had worn the Persian cap; he had signed the papers at the advice of Qāẓī Jahān. We do not know what the actual contents of these papers were, but two manuscripts of Jauhar definitely say that Humāyūn accepted the Shī'ah creed in the presence of the Shāh. From the very beginning the Shāh insisted on Humāyūn's conversion. If Humāyūn had accepted the Shī'ah creed, what serious reason could there be for such violent estrangement between the two kings? Political rivalry there was between the Ṣafavī and Mughul dynasties, but Humāyūn was now an exile and powerless and we do not find the Shāh so keen on asserting political superiority as on the matter of religion. One may suspect, therefore, that Humāyūn had not yet been able to satisfy the Shāh completely about his conversion to the Shī'ah faith. It may be that the Shāh demanded the conversion of Humāyūn's followers as well.

We have not much detail regarding this period of Humāyūn's stay in Īrān. Abu'l-Fazl dismisses it in one vague sentence, characteristic of him: 'In the intervals between these glorious seasons of fortunate conjunctions a cloudiness of heart was created on both sides through the instigation of sundry strifemongers, but the turbidity did not last long, and was washed away by the waters of cleansing.' In most of the chronicles Bahrām Mīrzā, brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, is described as the arch-enemy of Humāyūn and he did most to poison the mind of the Shāh against him. Jauhar,

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[1] *M.R.*, vol. ii, pp. 19-20.

[2] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 29a: بعد از آن تا دو ماه هیچ حرف و حکایت از شکر و شکایت درمیانه یکدیگر نشد, MS. S., p. 126 and P.U.MS., fol. 57b: بعد از آن دو ماه بگذشت که هیچ حرف و حکایت و مدد نرفت و بهم دیگر نشنید; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 58b. With reference to the cessation of intercourse between the two monarchs and other acts of hostility, the rosy picture drawn by Gulbadan Begam may be quoted by way of contrast: 'The friendship and concord of these two highplaced pāshas was as close as two nut-kernels in one shell. Great unanimity and good feeling ensued, so that during his Majesty's stay in that country, the Shāh often went to his quarters, and on days when he did not, the Emperor went to his '—*Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 169.

however, says that Bahrām Mīrzā was friendly and sympathetic to Humāyūn from the very beginning.[1]

It is related that one day the Shāh in course of conversation asked Humāyūn the cause of his defeat in India. Humāyūn replied that it was due to the hostility of his brothers. Bahrām Mīrzā, who was standing nearby, became annoyed and from that day turned to be the bitter enemy of Humāyūn and did all that he could to poison the mind of the Shāh against him.[2] Firishta gives some more details. Shāh Ṭahmāsp, on hearing Humāyūn's reply, said: 'Your treatment of your brother has not been right.' At that time the meal was ready and Bahrām Mīrzā was waiting just like a servant with ewer and jar in hand. The Shāh said that Humāyūn should have treated his brothers in that way.[3] At this Bahrām Mīrzā became angry and called his followers and warned them that the Shāh would kill them on account of Humāyūn's statements.[4]

How far Bahrām Mīrzā's activities were responsible for the alienation of the Shāh's mind we cannot say. According to Badāūnī Bahrām Mīrzā pointed to the Shāh the conduct of Bābur at the battle of Ghajdawān and also that it would be suicidal to help his son. It does not seem probable that Bahrām Mīrzā's poisoning alone induced Shāh Ṭahmāsp to stop all intercourse with Humāyūn; he must have other and more serious causes for which he put his royal guest to the condition of a virtual prisoner.

Stewart's Jauhar and the British Museum manuscript of Jauhar say that Shāh Ṭahmāsp intended to put Humāyūn to death. Sir Jadunāth Sarkār's and the Punjab University manuscripts do not mention anywhere that the Shāh attempted to take Humāyūn's life. The India Office manuscript of Jauhar and Faiẓī Sirhindī say that Shāh Ṭahmāsp threatened Humāyūn that he would be thrown into fire unless he accepted the Shī'ah faith, but they do not say that Shāh Ṭahmāsp conspired against Humāyūn's life. Some manuscripts of Badāūnī say that Bahrām Mīrzā tried not only to overthrow Humāyūn's plans but also to finish him. Niẓāmu'd-dīn says that Bahrām induced the Shāh to put Humāyūn to death.[5] Briggs' Firishta says that Humāyūn 'was at one time apprehensive of his life', but the text mentions nowhere that Bahrām or Shāh Ṭahmāsp conspired against Humāyūn's life.[6] Sharaf Khān agrees with Stewart's Jauhar

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[1] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 29b; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 59a.

[2] *T.Akb.*, fol. 419a; Niẓāmu'd-dīn, pp. 209-10; Badāūnī, vol. i, p. 444; *T.Kh.T.*, fol. 286a.

[3] Firishta, Bombay Ed., vol. i, p. 445; *Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq*, fol. 1931a; De Laet, pp. 137-8.

[4] *R.T.*, fol. 622b.

[5] Stewart, p. 102; Badāūnī, vol. i, p. 444, and English trans. by Ranking, p. 570; Niẓāmu'd-dīn, p. 210. Also *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Afāghina*, p. 305. The British Museum MS. of Jauhar, Add. 16, 711, says that Shāh Ṭahmāsp intended to kill Humāyūn and talked with Bahrām Mīrzā about this—fol. 76a, quoted by Prof. M. A. Ghanī in *Persian Literature at the Mughal Court*, vol. ii, p. 147.

[6] Briggs' Firishta, vol. ii, p. 156, and Lucknow text, vol. i, p. 236; Bombay Ed., vol. i, pp. 444–46.

and the British Museum manuscript as regards the Shāh's attempt to kill Humāyūn. The *Sharaf-nāma* definitely asserts that for some time the Shāh was after putting Humāyūn to death.[1]

Notwithstanding the differences in minor details, it appears that the Shāh attempted even to take Humāyūn's life. He was dissuaded from doing so by his sister Sulṭānam Begam who took pity for the fugitive monarch. She pleaded to her royal brother that he was already surrounded on all sides by enemies—Turks, Uzbegs, Circassians and Europeans—and now by injuring Humāyūn he would create more enemies, for his sons and brothers would one day take revenge and that it was advisable to let Humāyūn go if he could not help him. The Shāh was convinced of the justice of his sister's arguments and changed his mind.[2] Some manuscripts of Jauhar give a different account of Sulṭānam Begam's pleading to her brother. She told Shāh Ṭahmāsp that she always desired his welfare and therefore implored him not to be guided by self-seeking persons but to give proper assistance to Humāyūn so that he might recover his dominion in Hindūstān. Sulṭānam Begam also read before the Shāh a verse composed by Humāyūn in which he had expressed his loyalty to 'Alī and his sons.[3] At this the Shāh became pacified and confessed that his nobles were giving him wrong advice and what she said was right.[4]

Next to Sulṭānam Begam the person, who exerted himself most in favour of Humāyūn, was Qāẓī Jahān, the *dīwān*. Hakīm Nūru'd-dīn, the physician, who was an influence in the State, also helped Humāyūn during this miserable period by removing suspicion from the Shāh's mind. Alqās Mīrzā, the younger brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who was employed in the Turkish frontier, also wrote to the Shāh in favour of Humāyūn asking him to accord the royal guest a befitting and hospitable treatment.[5] Jauhar

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[1] The *Sharaf-nāma* has the following at pp. 196-7, vol. ii:

و از غرایب اتفاقات در اثنای شکار تیری بر ابو القاسم خلفای قاجار خورده بآن درگذشت فاما بعضی اوقات شاه طهماسپ قصد میرزا همایون کرده آخر الامر بسعی خواهرش سلطنم از سر آن معامله درگذشت و در مقام شفقت درآمده موازی ششهزار قزلباش بسرداری بوداق خان قاجار همراه میرزا همایون کرده روانه به هندوستان کردانید ۰

[2] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 29b; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 59b.

[3] This is also mentioned by Firishta, who quotes the verse—Bombay Ed., vol. i, p. 446. The *Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣadiq*, fol. 1931a, also mentions this and quotes the verse. It wrongly calls Sulṭānam Begam as the Shāh's daughter. Khāfī Khān also follows Firishta and gives the verse.—vol. i, p. 119.

[4] MS. S., pp. 129-30; P.U.MS., fol. 59b. De Laet also refers to the generous help rendered by Sulṭānam Begam—pp. 137-8. The I.O.MS. of Jauhar, fol. 29b, and Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 59b, also say that Sulṭānam Begam produced a verse of Humāyūn to Shāh Ṭahmāsp, but the verse is different:

ای شاهِ جهان که آسمان پایه تست احسان و کرم همیشه سرمایهٔ تست
شاهان جهان سایه هما می‌طلبند بنگـــر که هما در طلب سایهٔ تست

[5] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 29b; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 59b. The influence of Alqās Mīrzā in this matter is not mentioned in the other manuscripts of Jauhar or in Stewart. Alqās Mīrzā is referred to in the *Af.T.*, fol. 116a, as the governor of Shirwān.

differs from Niẓāmu'd-dīn, Badāūnī, the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, the *Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Tīmurīya* and Firishta regarding the attitude of Bahrām Mīrzā whom they regard as the arch-enemy who did his utmost to alienate Shāh Ṭahmāsp from Humāyūn. In Jauhar we find Bahrām Mīrzā as sympathetic as Sulṭānam Begam and it was he who advised her to exert all her influence in favour of Humāyūn.

6. The Shāh changes his attitude: Did Humāyūn accept the Shī'ah creed?

The Shāh was obliged to change his attitude towards Humāyūn on account of the remonstrances of his sister as well as of his *dīwān*. Next day after his conversation with Sulṭānam Begam, as an indication of his changed attitude Shāh Ṭahmāsp invited Humāyūn 'to visit him at his hunting encampment'.[1] Humāyūn went to the Shāh's camp at the time of midday prayer and remained there till night. The two monarchs thus met each other after an interval of two months and they were at the vicinity of Sulṭānīya and Takht-i-Sulaimān during this period, as appears from Jauhar's description. Shāh Ṭahmāsp behaved with great kindness and assured Humāyūn of help as he desired and said: 'Qāẓī Jahān will speak to you certain things which you will please affirm'.[2] The changed attitude of the Shāh was well illustrated by the anxiety he felt for Humāyūn that night, as he was returning to his tent in the dark, lest the Turkamāns should ill-treat him and the care he took for Humāyūn at midnight when he felt hungry. Humāyūn also assembled his followers—Bābā Dōst Qūrchībegī, Mihtar Wāsil Tūshakchī, Mihtar Yūsuf, Mihtar Kuchak Beg, Jauhar Āftābchī and others and told them that the Shāh had become kind to them and related all that had occurred and said: 'Qāẓī Jahān will speak something to you.' At this they became relieved and glad.[3]

Soon afterwards Shāh Ṭahmāsp in order to please his royal guest severely punished those evil-minded nobles, Khwāja Ghāzī, Rūshan Kōka and Sulṭān Muḥammad who were to be thrown into the caverns known as the 'prison of the *dīwān* of Sulaimān'. The offenders, however, wrote to Humāyūn for pardon and at his request the Shāh pardoned them. Shāh Ṭahmāsp was very much impressed by the liberality of Humāyūn.[4]

The question has often been debated whether Humāyūn was a Sunnī or a Shī'ah. Humāyūn entered the territory of the Shāh as a Sunnī, but

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[1] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 29b: روز دیگر ببادشاه نوشته فرستاد که در سرکار ما حاضر باشند ; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 59b.

[2] Jauhar, I.O.MS., foll. 29b-30a: بعضی سخنان قاضی جهان در ملازمت آمده خواهد گفت ; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 59b; MS. S., pp. 130-1: بعضی سخنان قاضی جهان بسمع رسانید معترف خواهی شد

[3] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 30a; MS. S., pp. 130–2; P.U.MS., foll. 59b–60a; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 60a.

[4] Jauhar, I.O.MS., foll. 30a-b; Faiẓī Sirhindī, foll. 60b–61a. According to Gulbadan Begam, at the time of farewell, Humāyūn 'asked pardon from the Shāh for the offence of those two faithless ones and, having himself forgiven them, took them with him to Qandahār'.—*Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 174.

from the outset he was conscious that he was seeking the protection of a zealous Shī'ah. In his letter to Shāh Ṭahmāsp, asking permission to visit Mashhad, Humāyūn emphasizes on his abiding respect for the *Imāms* and the Shī'ah faith in order to please his royal host.[1] Indeed the visit to Mashhad was probably made with a view to the same motive. The Shāh also had from the very beginning the motive of converting Humāyūn to his own faith. In his reply to the first letter of Humāyūn Shāh Ṭahmāsp lays emphasis on the point that Humāyūn had sought shelter at the court of a Shī'ah monarch and that all his troubles and difficulties would be removed by the help of the *Imāms*.[2] Again in his reply to Humāyūn's letter, asking permission to visit Mashhad, the Shāh compliments Humāyūn on his arrival in Persia on account of his great respect for the house of the *Imāms* and promised him every help for the recovery of Hindūstān.[3] When Bairām Beg arrived at the court, the first thing that the Shāh asked him to do, was to wear the Persian cap, and Bairām's gallant refusal caused not a little displeasure in his mind.

Shāh Ṭahmāsp was, however, more successful in the case of Humāyūn, for the master humbly obeyed to do what the servant had dared refuse. Humāyūn wore the Shī'ah cap (*tāj*), remarking that a *tāj* (crown) was an emblem of greatness. A few days after his arrival, the Shāh informed Humāyūn that unless he and his followers accepted the Shī'ah creed, they would be thrown into fire. Humāyūn at first refused to sacrifice his faith but afterwards was forced to compromise and ask Qāẓī Jahān to put the matter in writing. Humāyūn had to approve of the three papers brought by Qāẓī Jahān. The India Office manuscript of Jauhar, Faiẓī Sirhindī and Stewart do not mention what the papers contained, and we can only guess that they contained the conditions of the conversion of Humāyūn. Two manuscripts of Jauhar, however, definitely say that Humāyūn accepted the Shī'ah faith in the presence of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.[4] In the same manuscripts we find that the Shāh became pacified after his sister Sulṭānam Begam had quoted Humāyūn's verse, expressing loyalty to 'Alī and his sons.[5] Not only Humāyūn was converted to the Shī'ah faith but, it seems, his followers also were converted. We are told that Qāẓī Jahān was to speak something to Humāyūn's followers, and this was most probably about their conversion. No historian of the Persian side refers to the conversion of Humāyūn and his followers which would darken the reputation of their monarch and stigmatize him as an intolerant bigot. Abu'l-Faẓl, Niẓāmu'd-dīn and other Indian historians also ignore this fact which was certainly insulting to their monarch and offensive to their religious sentiment. Badāūnī, who was a zealous Sunnī, makes the matter explicit: "Humāyūn after much ado said 'Bring them[6] written upon a sheet of paper'. Accordingly they wrote down all their religious beliefs, and Humāyūn read

[1] Add. 7688, foll. 104b-105a.
[2] *I.N.*, foll. 14a-b; *D.M.*, foll. 229b-230a.
[3] Add. 7688, foll. 105a-b.
[4] MS. S., p. 122; P.U.MS., fol. 55b.
[5] MS. S., p. 130; P.U.MS., fol. 59b.
[6] The religious tenets of the Shī'ahs.

them with a view to copying them, and gave precedence in the *Khutbah*, after the custom of 'Irāq, to the recital of the twelve *Imāms*." [1] In Firishta we find that Sulṭānam Begam could tone down the wrath of the Shāh by quoting that verse of Humāyūn in which he had expressed his devotion to 'Alī and his family. Shāh Ṭahmāsp became glad of the verse and told Sulṭānam Begam that if Humāyūn would enforce the Shī'ah faith in his own dominion in Hindūstān, he would render him proper assistance. Humāyūn, when told this by Sulṭānam Begam, said that at heart he was ever a loyal disciple of the family of the Prophet and this was the cause of the hostility of his nobles and his brothers.[2] From the conduct of Humāyūn in later life it is difficult to prove that he had become a Shī'ah at heart. His wife Ḥamīda Bānū Begam was a Shī'ah. Bairām Beg, his right-hand man, was a Shī'ah and probably Māham Begam, his mother, was a Shī'ah.[3] He visited twice the tomb of *Imām* Riẓā at Mashhad and he visited the tombs of Shī'ah saints as well in Persia. While in Īrān Humāyūn often exhibited his sincere attachment to the Shī'ah creed. In Hindūstān he appointed Shī'ah officers in his service. His poems reflect his veneration for 'Alī and his respect for the Shī'ah faith.[4] His death took place before he had fully recovered his territory in Hindūstān and in truth he could not rule Hindūstān as a king after his return from Īrān. The majority of Muslims in India were Sunnīs and they might have raised objection to their monarch's conversion to the Shī'ah faith. This troubled question did not arise on account of the sudden death of Humāyūn. Therefore we cannot say whether he formally abandoned the Shī'ah creed and died as a Sunnī. Apparently therefore it seems that Humāyūn died as a Shī'ah. Yet this much can be said that he was never a sincere convert to the Shī'ah faith. His love for the Shī'ah creed, rather his coquetry with Shiism, was a mere move in the diplomatic game. He could violate his promise with the Shāh in matters of religion as he did in the matter of Qandahār. If Badāūnī is to be believed, we find Humāyūn expressing indignation at the charge of the Sunnī Shaikh Ḥamīd that his soldiers (on the occasion of the recovery of Hindūstān) were Rāfiẓī, bearing the name of 'Alī, and he immediately retorted that his grandfather bore the name of the second Khalifah and assured the Shaikh of the purity of his faith which to that bigoted historian would indicate nothing but Sunnism.[5] The truth is what Qāẓī Jahān said to Humāyūn: 'You must say that, being helpless, you will do as they wish.' [6] Humāyūn had to purchase the safety of his life and the lives of his followers at the expense of personal faith. In this respect Humāyūn was but following the example of his illustrious father Bābur, who, to

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[1] Badāūnī, Ranking, vol. i, p. 572. [2] Firishta, Bombay Ed., vol. i, p. 446.

[3] Dr. S. K. Banerji, *Humāyūn-Bādshāh*, vol. I, p. 2.

[4] R.A.S.B. MS. No. 923; R.A.S.B. Curzon Collection, MS. No. 57. The *Dīwān* of Humāyūn in MS. was exhibited by Prof. Sayyid Ḥasan 'Askarī at the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939.

[5] Ranking, vol. i, pp. 604–5; text, p. 468. [6] Stewart, p. 96.

please Shāh Isma'īl, adopted the Persian head-dress for himself and his soldiers and promised to stamp the names of the Twelve *Imāms* on coins.[1]

7. Farewell Parties: Last Days with the Shāh: The Third Period

The remaining days of Humāyūn's life at the Safavid court were spent in peace—in hunting, rejoicing and festive parties in and around Takht-i-Sulaimān. Bāyazīd describes in some detail these festivities and hunting parties and he himself was present while festivities were held at Takht-i-Sulaimān.[2] Hunts took place at Takht-i-Sulaimān, Sāvūq Bulāq, at Ḥauẓi-Sulaimān and at Āq-i-Ziyārat. At Sāvūq Bulāq, which is, as Beveridge rightly points out, Sūj Bulāq near Takht-i-Sulaimān,[3] Shāh Ṭahmāsp and Humāyūn entered the hunting ground together and after them Bahrām Mīrzā and Sām Mīrzā, brothers of the Shāh. The next man to enter was Bairām Beg who was followed by the other officers of the Shāh. Bairām was given precedence to all the officers of the Shāh and of Humāyūn.[4] Another hunt took place at Sulaimān's Pool. They played polo and there was display of archery. Bairām Beg and Ḥājī Muḥammad Kōkī distinguished themselves by their skill in archery and, according to Abu'l-Fazl, received the title of Khān and Sulṭān respectively.[5] There was also a third hunt at Āq-i-Ziyārat which is the last stage before the summer quarters of Sūrlīq.[6] Ḥamīda Bānū Begam, we are told by Gulbadan, witnessed these hunts from a distance and Shāh Ṭahmāsp's sister Sulṭānam used to stand beside the Shāh on horseback.

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[1] *Bābur-nāma*, A.S. Beveridge, p. 354; *A.A.A.*, p. 290.

[2] *Mukhtaṣar*, foll. 10b-11b. According to Bāyazīd hunting at Sāvūq Bīlāq lasted for one week and Sāvūq Bīlāq is the first *manzil* from Bīlāq Sūrlīq. Hunting at Takht-i-Sulaimān and Ḥauẓ-i-Sulaimān lasted for ten or twelve days and the two monarchs passed three or four days at the prison and stable of Sulaimān. After two or three days' stay there, the Shāh arranged hunting at Āq-i-Ziyārat which is the last stage before the summer quarters of Sūrlīq.

[3] The *Af.T.*, fol. 124a, says that hunting took place at Sūrlūq and Sāvūgh Bulāgh (ساوغ بلاغ). The *M.R.* has ساوخ بلاغ and says that it is the first stage from Bīlāq Sūrlīq—vol. i, p. 592. The *Tażkira-i-Shāh Ṭahmāsp* refers to ساوج بلاغ which is, according to Phillott, 'a city in Azerbayjan'.—A.S.B. Ed., p. 8. According to Le Strange, p. 218, Sāūj Bulāgh is a district half way between Ray and Qazwīn but the place referred to in the text is Sūj Bulāq, eighty miles north-west of Takht-i-Sulaimān. Vide the map in Curzon's *Persia*.

[4] *Majāmi'u'l-akhbār*, fol. 392a. According to Firishta, vol. i, p. 236, after Humāyūn Bairām Beg entered and after Bairām came Bahrām Mīrzā and Sām Mīrzā, but this does not seem very probable.

[5] *A.N.*, vol. i, pp. 440-1; *H.R.*, fol. 170b. The *Af.T.*, fol. 124b, says that these two were awarded the titles of Khān and Sulṭān at the time of parting. Jauhar says that Bairām had received the title of Khān before this.—Vide sec. 4, Ch. iv, of this book.

[6] Bāyazīd, fol. 11b; *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 442. The *T.Alf.*, fol. 419a, says that after the Shāh was reconciled to Humāyūn, hunt was arranged on three occasions to please Humāyūn. According to the *Nusakh-i-Jahānārā* there were hunts several times at Ilāq Sūrīq and Takht-i-Sulaimān—fol. 222b. The *Khulāṣa-i-Maqāl* says that hunt



S͟HĀH ṬAHMĀSP ENTERTAINING HUMĀYŪN
(*From a wall painting in the C͟hihal Sitūn, copied by Texier*)

[*To face p.* 38.



The Shāh arranged also a grand farewell entertainment in honour of Humāyūn. For seven days the royal officers were engaged in preparation for it. Jauhar describes these parting festivities in detail. The whole ground was paved with carpets and about six hundred tents were pitched.[1] Twelve bands of military music were played to welcome the royal guest. Famous *Sultāns*, *Khāns* of high position, *Mīrzās* and commanders of troops from every quarter graced the occasion. Festivities lasted for three days. On the first day robes of honour were presented to all and eatables were profusely served. On the second day the Shāh told Humāyūn that preparations had been made for his return to his country and he was to be supplied with tents, horses, camels and other requisites and his son Prince Murād would wait for him at Sīstān with twelve thousand chosen cavalry. On the third day of the festivities the two monarchs amused themselves in shooting.[2]

8. Parting of the two monarchs

After the festivities were over, the two monarchs were to part. Early in the morning Humāyūn went to pay his respects to his host. He found Shāh Ṭahmāsp seated on a small carpet, folded into three and there was no place for him to sit down on. He felt awkward and was going to sit on the ground when a Mughul named Ḥājī Muḥammad Qushqa saved the situation by cutting off the cover of his quiver which he spread for Humāyūn to sit on. This petty incident is characteristic of the treatment of the Shāh to his royal guest.[3]

Humāyūn and the Shāh together left Takht-i-Sulaimān and halted at a place eight miles away. Here Humāyūn held an entertainment in honour of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. Hindūstānī dishes were served in accordance with the desire of the Shāh. The item, which pleased Ṭahmāsp very much, was the dish of rice and peas which was quite unknown in Īrān.

From that place the two monarchs marched to the charming spot of Miyāna.[4] At the request of the Shāh, Humāyūn left his followers there and accompanied him up to the next stage, four miles away.[5] It was raining heavily and so Humāyūn stopped in the Shāh's tent. During the last few days Shāh Ṭahmāsp had behaved with Humāyūn most kindly. He had asked apology and his words of apology were indeed touching: 'O, Humāyūn, if I have been deficient in aught, I trust to your generosity

was arranged at Ilāq Shūrbūq which is obviously Ilāq Sūrlīq—fol. 125a. According to Gulbadan Begam there was hunting eight times during Humāyūn's stay with the Shāh.—*Humāyūn-nāma*, p. 169.

[1] Stewart has 'three hundred tents' but the MSS. have 'about six hundred'.

[2] Jauhar, I.O.MS., foll. 30a-b; P.U.MS., foll. 61b-62a; MS. S., pp. 134-5; Faiẓī Sirhindī, foll. 61a-b.

[3] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 31a; MS. S., pp. 135-6; P.U.MS., fol. 62a; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 62a; Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, English translation by W. Irvine, vol. i, p. 114.

[4] Miyānah or the Miyānij in Āżarbāijān, Le Strange, p. 170. Also 'Meeana' in Kinneir, *A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*, p. 378.

[5] Stewart has 'ten coss' but the MSS. of Jauhar and Faiẓī Sirhindī have 'two'.

to excuse it.'[1] The last scene has been graphically described by Jauhar: "No sooner had the rains ceased than the king, with a sharp knife studded with gems and two apples in his hand, stood up and said, 'Now, Humāyūn Pādshāh, good-bye'. Humāyūn stretched his hands low and the Shāh said, 'Accept'. A moment passed in paying respects to each other and then the Shāh made the tips of his fingers low and gave the presents in haste to Humāyūn and said, 'May the blessing of God be with you' and bade him farewell."[2]

9. Bairām Beg in Īrān

Bairām Beg was mainly responsible for Humāyūn's going to Īrān, for it was he who advised Humāyūn to seek shelter there. Bairām was a Shī'ah and his ancestors were rulers in Īrān. It is therefore quite probable that he had some prestige at the Ṣafavī court and was held in respect by the Īrānians. In Persia Bairām met his kinsmen, the Qarāquīnlū Turks and saw his ancestral home. Shāh Ṭahmāsp intended to keep Bairām in his service as a vassal chief of the Turks and offered him the government of Diyār Bakr and Āżarbāijān which had formerly belonged to his ancestors, Qarā Yūsuf and Mīrzā Jahān Shāh. But Bairām, true to his salt, did not agree to abandon Humāyūn at such a critical time when he required his services most. He abandoned his kinsmen and native place in loyalty to his master, but he refused the invitation in such a manner as not to disoblige the Shāh.[3] Bairām never bore at heart any feeling of disloyalty to Humāyūn and preference for the Shāh. As an ambassador of Humāyūn he had refused to wear the Persian Shī'ah cap because, he pointed out, he was the servant of another monarch. He was first a servant of the Chaghatāi dynasty and then a Shī'ah. In all his trials and tribulations of exile he proved a valued guide to Humāyūn. It was Bairām who advised moderation and compromise when Bahrām Mīrzā organized a conspiracy against Humāyūn and alienated the Shāh. The Shāh also, after reconciliation, called Bairām Beg privately and discussed with him his master's affairs.[4] The Shāh formed a high opinion of Bairām and refers to him in his letter to Akbar.[5] In estimating the services of the officers who served Humāyūn in exile, Abu'l-Faẓl remarks: 'The head of the faithful servants was Bairām Khān, who throughout waited on the stirrup of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī as if he were his good Fortune.' This high encomium of Abu'l-Faẓl is not altogether unjust.

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[1] Stewart, p. 107; Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 30b: گفت که ای همایون بادشاه کی ما و کرم شما ; MS. S., p. 135; P.U.MS., fol. 62a; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 61b.

[2] MS. S., p. 138; P.U.MS., fol. 63a; I.O.MS., fol. 31a; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 62b. The account given in the I.O.MS. is a bit different from that given in Sir Jadunāth Sarkār's MS. and the P.U.MS. There is no mention of the Shāh's placing a ring on Humāyūn's finger in the manuscripts of Jauhar or in Faiẓī Sirhindī as in Stewart, p. 109. Bāyazīd says that the farewell of the two monarchs took place at Āq-i-Ziyārat —fol. 11b. According to the *Af.T.*, fol. 124b, they parted at Miyāna. According to the *A.A.A.*, fol. 20a (Būhār MS.), the parting took place at Ilāq Sūrtaq, i.e. Sūrlīq.

[3] *M.R.*, vol. ii, p. 20 and vol. i, pp. 594-5.

[4] Firishta, vol. i, p. 237; Bombay Ed., vol. i, p. 446.

[5] Add. 7688, fol. 116a.

CHAPTER V

HOMEWARD BOUND

1. Humāyūn leaves the Safavid Court and visits Ardabīl and the Caspian Sea

At the time of parting Shāh Ṭahmāsp gave Bairām Khān the roll of twelve thousand Persians who were to form the auxiliary force under Prince Murād, and he instructed his son Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā to send necessary help from the army of Khurāsān. The Shāh intended that he should himself go to Khurāsān and send troops in aid of Humāyūn but he could not do so on account of the troubles in the army of Rūm. The Shāh gave Humāyūn three thousand *tumāns* in cash and various articles—ornamented girdles and saddles, Arabian horses and Bactrian camels, Kurchī and Circassian slaves, beautiful maids, royal tents, linen of Īrān, Yezd, Astrakhān, Rūm and Europe—worth twenty thousand *tumāns*.[1]

Prince Bahrām, as directed by the Shāh, accompanied Humāyūn up to Miyāna where the king's men were waiting. Humāyūn presented the prince a diamond ring, a keepsake of his mother's, as a mark of remembrance and Bahrām promised to remember him. The two then parted.[2]

Bairām had represented to the Shāh the desire of Humāyūn to return via Ardabīl, 'the cradle of the Ṣafavī family', where he intended to visit the tomb of Shaikh Ṣafīu'd-dīn, the ancestor of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and a spiritual guide of Tīmūr. The Shāh was pleased to grant this favour and appointed Ḥaidar Beg Anīs to accompany the king as guide to Ardabīl and Tabrīz.[3] According to Khur Shāh the Shāh appointed Qāẓī Jahān to accompany Humāyūn to Ardabīl and Tabrīz.[4] Shāh Ṭahmāsp sent *farmāns* also to the governors of these places to arrange for the proper reception of Humāyūn.[5]

In three days Humāyūn reached Tabrīz. When he reached the vicinity, the governor of the city, accompanied by the grandees, came out and received him at the dam of Mīrzā Mīrān Shāh. As instructed by Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the whole city was decorated and was in festive mood. 'The whole city', says Khur Shāh, 'was decorated in such a way that the eye of wisdom was dazzled by its sight'.[6] The games of hockey and wolf-running, for which

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[1] *Af.T.*, foll. 124a-b; *T.A.M.*, fol. 207b; *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, fol. 59b; *A.A.A.*, pp. 75-6. A *tumān* is equivalent to 15½ dollars according to Steingass. 3,000 *tumāns* (سی هزار) are equivalent to £11,775. The *M.A.A.* says that at the first meeting of Humāyūn and the Shāh, the Shāh promised him help in recovering Hindūstān and even agreed to proceed in person if it would be necessary—fol. 80a.

[2] The I.O.MS. of Jauhar, fol. 31b, and Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 63a, say that Bahrām Mīrzā read a verse and the verse also is given there.

[3] *M.R.*, vol. ii, p. 20.

[4] *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, fol. 59a; *F.S.*, fol. 21a.

[5] *T.Alf.*, fol. 419b; *T.A.*, p. 210.

[6] *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, fol. 59a; *F.S.*, fol. 21a.

Tabrīz was famous, were held to entertain the royal guest.[1] Humāyūn 'visited the splendid buildings, the memorials of ancient kings—and the pleasure-parks of the city'. Among the distinguished persons, who saw him at Tabrīz, were Mullā Quṭbu'd-dīn Jalanjū of Baghdād who accompanied him as far as Mashhad and Khwāja 'Abdu'ṣ-Ṣamad *shīrīnqalam* who became in Akbar's court the master-painter of the Mughul school of painting. The historian Bāyazīd Bīyāt also joined Humāyūn at Tabrīz. According to Jauhar Humāyūn remained five days at Tabrīz.[2]

Humāyūn then left for Ardabīl which he reached in four days. When he arrived at Shammāsī in the vicinity of Ardabīl, all the Shaikhzādas and the other grandees and nobles came to receive him. The governor of Ardabīl, Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafavī and Amīr Ashraf, superintendent of the tomb of Shaikh Ṣafīu'd-dīn, gave Humāyūn a warm reception and offered presents.[3] Humāyūn stayed there for a week [4] and visited the tombs of Shaikh Ṣafīu'd-dīn, the founder of the Ṣafavī dynasty, and of Shāh Isma'īl where he saw the wonderful chain which could protect any culprit from punishment. Humāyūn is said to have made offerings at the tombs in honour of both Shaikh Ṣafīu'd-dīn and Shāh Isma'īl.[5] At Ardabīl Humāyūn wanted to marry a niece of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the daughter of Ma'ṣūm Beg, who had been betrothed to him by the Shāh, but it is doubtful if this marriage was ever consummated.[6]

From Ardabīl Humāyūn proceeded to Daryā-i-Qulzum which means the Red Sea. But as the Red Sea is much distant from Ardabīl, the reference is certainly to the Caspian Sea—Daryā-i-Khazar. Jauhar writes of the constant fog or mist on its waters. Humāyūn again came back to Ardabīl and then proceeded towards Qazwīn.[7]

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1 A copy of the picture depicting this is reproduced here from an illustrated Akbar-nāma at the Kābul Museum.

2 This paragraph on Humāyūn at Tabrīz has been based on *T.W.* I.O.MS., fol. 31b; *A.N.*, vol. i, pp. 443–5; Bāyazīd, fol. 12a; *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, foll. 59a-b; Faiẓī Sirhindī fol. 63b; *A.A.A.*, p. 76.

3 *Af.T.*, fol. 125a.

4 *T.W.*, I.O.MS., fol. 31b; *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 445; *Iqbāl-nāma*, fol. 78a; I.O.MS. No. 224, fol. 12a. The *T.A.M.* says that Humāyūn remained at Ardabīl for [illegible] days—fol. 208a.

5 Morier in his description of the tomb of Shaikh Ṣafīu'd-dīn and Shāh Isma'īl writes: 'Among the offerings, a golden ewer, set with precious stones, was the most conspicuous; and this, we are informed, had been presented by Homayoun Shah. . . . . . To the left, in a small dark room, is the tomb of Shah Ismael, the first king of the Seffevies, which is overlaid by a very beautiful casement of fine work like mosaic, composed of ivory, tortoise shell, and turquoises, inlaid with passages from the Koran, and which, in our estimation, was the most valuable, as well as the most curious object that we had yet seen in this place. This also was a present from Homayoun Shah.'—*A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople*, vol. ii, pp. 254-5.

6 Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 31b: و خواهرزادی شاه که دختر معصوم بیگ بود و شاه نامزد بادشاه کرده بودند خواستند که بآن مقام آشنای ظاهر کنند ; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 63b. Erskine interprets this sentence differently.—*History*, p. 295. Vide *A.N.*, vol. I, p. xvii.

7 The *T.I.N.S.* says that Humāyūn first visited Ardabīl and then Tabrīz but this is less probable as Tabrīz first fell on his way to the Caspian Sea.



HUMĀYŪN WITNESSING THE GAMES OF HOCKEY AND WOLF-RUNNING AT TABRĪZ

[To face p. 42.

2. Humāyūn's second visit to Qazwīn

There is some confusion as regards Humāyūn's route from Ardabīl to Qazwīn. According to Jauhar Humāyūn went via Khardabīl, Ṯārum and Sarkhāb.[1] Abu'l-Fazl gives the stages of the journey as follow: Khalkhāl, Ṯārum and Kharazbīl but he does not refer to Humāyūn's return to Qazwīn.[2] The *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī* gives a somewhat different route: Ṯārum, Khalkhāl, Manjil and Kharazbīl.[3] The *'Ālamārā-i-'Abbāsī* refers to Humāyūn's visit to Khalkhāl and Ṯārum after leaving Ardabīl.[4]

Khalkhāl, which is the chief town of the district of that name, is twelve leagues south of Ardabīl.[5] The town of Sarāb or Sarkhāb lies on the road from Tabrīz to Ardabīl and according to Mustawfī it lay three days' march from Tabrīz and two from Ardabīl.[6] Ṯārum is a district lying between Gilān and Qazwīn and there is also a town of this name, probably the chief town of the district.[7] It does not seem probable that Humāyūn came as far as Ṯārum and then retraced his steps westward to Sarāb, which is only two days' march from Ardabīl, as we find in Jauhar. It is also very unlikely that he visited Khalkhāl before going to Sarāb. From the situation of the town of Sarāb, it seems quite natural that Humāyūn went from Ardabīl to Sarāb and from Sarāb he proceeded to Khalkhāl. He left Khalkhāl for Ṯārum and from Ṯārum he went to Qazwīn via Manjil which lies some fifty miles north-west of Qazwīn. Kharazbīl or Khardabīl of Jauhar is neither indicated on the map nor its situation is given in any chronicle or traveller's account. According to Abu'l-Fazl Humāyūn remained there for three days and from his account of the journey it appears that Kharazbīl lies between Ṯārum and Qazwīn, whereas from Jauhar one would guess that it lies between Ardabīl and Ṯārum.[8]

Shāh Ṯahmāsp also returned from Sūrlīq to Qazwīn the very same day Humāyūn reached there and the Shāh was not a little surprised to see Humāyūn's camp and find that he had not yet left the country. He immediately ordered Mihtar Khīyalī to compel Humāyūn to leave Qazwīn

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[1] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 31b and Faizī Sirhindī, fol. 63b, have Ṯārūn. Sir Jadunāth Sarkār's MS., p. 140, and the P.U. MS., fol. 64b, have Ṯārum.

The first two MSS. have خردبول but the latter MSS. have خردویل.

[2] *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 445; *Iqbāl-nāma*, fol. 78a; I.O.MS. No. 224, fol. 12a.

[3] *M.R.*, vol. i, p. 593.

[4] Būhār MS., fol. 20a.

[5] Le Strange, p. 170; *Tażkira-i-Ṯahmāsp*, R.A.S.B. Ed., p. 6.

[6] Le Strange, p. 163. The town of Sarv gave its name to the river known as the Sarāv Rud, which was also called the Sarkhāb river—*op. cit.* Sarāb in *Tażkira-i-Ṯahmāsp*, p. 38. 'For Sarab (in Yakut Saraw) Dawlat Shah, Tadhkira, p. 346, gives Surkhab'.—*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. ii, p. 797.

[7] Yāqūt, p. 131; *Tażkira-i-Ṯahmāsp*, A.S.B. Ed., p. 6.

[8] Probably ·Harazbīl of the *Tażkira-i-Ṯahmāsp*, A.S.B. Ed., p. 7, is Kharazbīl. Phillott in the footnote remarks that the place is not traceable. As the work was being printed, I have been able to trace it. Kharazbīl (خرزویل) is a village in Ṯārum and lies at the foot of the hills.—*A.A.A.*, p. 335.

at once and march twelve leagues.[1] Humāyūn therefore could not take rest at Qazwīn as he intended and was obliged to leave the capital in obedience to the Shāh's command. His second visit to Qazwīn was a sad contrast to his first visit when he was given a very cordial reception.

Humāyūn's second visit to Qazwīn is only referred to in Jauhar and the *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī*, so far as Indian chronicles are concerned. Some chronicles, written from the Safavid side, mention his halting at Qazwīn on his way from Tabrīz and Ardabīl but they say that the farewell of the two monarchs did not take place before Humāyūn proceeded to Tabrīz and Ardabīl —it occurred after Humāyūn's return to Qazwīn. And none of these chronicles nor the *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī* says anything about the Shāh's order to Humāyūn to leave the capital at once. Jauhar cannot be disbelieved. The motive behind the omission of this fact on the part of other authors is obvious.[2]

3. From Qazwīn to Mashhad

When the royal party arrived near the fort of Dars, Ya'qūb the butler was killed by four horsemen who acted by order of the Shāh.[3] Ḥusain 'Alī Āqā, the Shāh's chamberlain, who bore personal grudge against Ya'qūb, complained to the Shāh that he had spoken disrespectfully of the Persian cap and thus secured this order. This is one of the many instances of the scant respect Shāh Ṭahmāsp had for Humāyūn without whose permission one of his followers was punished with death.

After continued marches the party reached Sabzawār. Mīr Shamsu'd-dīn 'Alī Sulṭān gave him proper reception and he witnessed rope-dancing which was exhibited with skill at the ceremony. According to Abu'l-Faẓl

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[1] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 140 and P.U.MSS., fol. 64b, have ضیای.

[2] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 31b; Faiẓī Sirhindī, foll. 63b-64a; *M.R.*, vol. i, p. 593; *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, foll. 59a-b, Add. 23513, fol. 426b; *T.A.M.*, foll. 208a-b; *A.A.A.*, fol. 20a (Būhār MS.); *Aḥ.T.*, p. 310. The *Af.T.*, foll. 125a-b, says that the farewell took place before Humāyūn's going to Tabrīz and Ardabīl but it seems that Humāyūn again met the Shāh at Qazwīn when Ṭahmāsp arranged to give Humāyūn the auxiliary force for recovering his dominion. Shāh Ṭahmāsp was neither angry nor surprised for this, as in Jauhar. The real farewell therefore occurred at Qazwīn. From the *R.S.*, fol. 88a, it seems that Humāyūn, before taking leave of the Shāh, visited the tomb of Shaikh Ṣafīu'd-dīn and then the farewell took place. From the *K.M.*, fol. 125a, it appears that the Shāh and Humāyūn returned from hunting at Sūrlīq to Qazwīn and from Qazwīn Humāyūn went to Tabrīz and came back to Qazwīn again. It was at Qazwīn that the Shāh bade Humāyūn farewell and made arrangements for his return to India. The *T.A.M.*, fol. 208a, does not refer to Humāyūn's return to Qazwīn but says that Humāyūn returned to the camp of the Shāh from Ardabīl and then the farewell took place. The *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, foll. 59a-b, says that Humāyūn returned to the capital of the Shāh from Ardabīl and Tabrīz but Qazwīn is not mentioned. The *K.M.*, fol. 123b and Sidi 'Alī Rais, p. 92, refer to Qazwīn as the capital of the Shāh. The *A.A.A.*, p. 76, says that Humāyūn visited Tabrīz and Ardabīl and from there returned to Miyānij or Miyāna and then the Shāh bade him farewell.

[3] Stewart, p. 111, has the fort of 'Aris'; MS. S. of Jauhar, p. 141 and P.U.MS., fol. 64b, have فرس ; I.O.MS., fol. 31b and Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 64a, have درس Dars.

Humāyūn had sent Ḥamīda Bānū Begam and her attendants from Miyāna by the straight road towards Qandahār under Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān and he rejoined this party at Sabzawār.[1] Jauhar, however, says that it was from Sabzawār that Humāyūn sent part of his men with the Begam by way of Tabas,[2] while he himself proceeded to Mashhad.[3] Bāyazīd says that Humāyūn reached Mashhad by way of the Zaqī pass.

At Mashhad Humāyūn was given proper reception by the governor and the nobles. Abu'l-Fazl says that Humāyūn remained there for sometime to give time to the Shāh to send him the auxiliary force. According to Jauhar Humāyūn stayed a week at the holy city, because it began to snow. He revisited the tomb of *Imām* 'Alī Riẓā and found the bow with the string which he had suspended on the tomb during his first visit.[4] Bāyazīd says that Bairam Khān took a log of bitter almond wood from the tomb which he afterwards used as his arms in his campaign against the Hazāras on his way from Qandahār to Kābul.[5] The *elite* of Mashhad saw Humāyūn and Bairām. Maulānā Jamshīd the enigmatist and Mullā Ḥairatī the poet waited upon Humāyūn at the holy city. It was at Mashhad that Bairām Khān showed favour and patronage to the poet Mullā Ḥairatī.[6]

4. From Mashhad to Sīstān

According to Humāyūn's inscription at Jām, he arrived there on 14 Shawwāl, 951/29 December, 1544. This agrees with Bāyazīd's date of Humāyūn's arrival at Mashhad on 15 December, 1544, and suits Jauhar's statement that he halted there at least for a week.[7] Humāyūn therefore left Mashhad for Jām which he visited a second time.[8] That Humāyūn made a second visit to Jām is corroborated by the *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī*.[9] In no other chronicle, whether of India or of Persia, do we find reference to his second visit.

Jauhar and Abu'l-Fazl, following him, say that Humāyūn went from Mashhad to Robāt Ṭarq.[10] This place of Ṭarq raises a crop of difficulties. Robāt Ṭarq is near Iṣfahān and lies on the way from Iṣfahān to Qum; it is therefore about five hundred miles south-west of Mashhad. It seems rather

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1 *A.N.*, vol. i, pp. 443, 445; *M.A.A.*, fol. 81b.

2 I.e. Tabas Kīlakī of *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 416.

3 Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 32a.

4 Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 32a; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 64a.

5 Bāyazīd, fol. 14a.

6 *M.R.*, vol. ii, pp. 120-21.

7 Vide Appendix to Chapter V.

8 Mr. Beveridge suggests this point in the foot-note at p. 434, *A.N.*, vol. i.

9 Fol. 238a.

10 Yāqūt says that it is ten *farsakhs* (leagues) from Iṣfahān—p. 392. Ṭark 'is near Iṣfahān'.—Le Strange, p. 449. Ṭarq (طرق) is also mentioned in Bāyazīd—fol. 12a. According to the modern guide book on Persia the distance of Robāt 'Tork' from Iṣfahān is 143 kilometre, i.e. about ninety miles.—*Guide Book on Persia*, by G. H. Ebtehaj, Ṭehrān, p. 232.

strange that Humāyūn should have retraced his steps westward so long a way, for he might have conveniently reached Robāt Ṭarq near Iṣfahān from Qazwīn. From Robāt Ṭarq, Jauhar tells us, Humāyūn went to Langar [1] where there is the tomb of Shāh Qāsim-i-Anwār. As the tomb of Shāh Qāsim-i-Anwār is in the district of Jām,[2] Langar should be in the district of Jām and is therefore the 'Lenger' of the map, some fifteen miles north-west of Turbat-i-Shaikh Jām.[3] Langar is about ninety miles from Mashhad. As Humāyūn's destination was Sīstān, it was quite natural for Humāyūn to have gone from Mashhad to Langar and from Langar to Robāt Ṭarq, instead of coming back from Robāt Ṭarq north-eastward to Langar. In that case his route would have been much shorter and he could have gone straight to Sīstān via Tabas. Neither Jauhar nor Abu'l-Fazl explains why Humāyūn went from Mashhad so far as Robāt Ṭarq and then again came towards that direction and went to Langar. There was nothing of importance at Robāt Ṭarq which might have attracted him to that place—the village of Ṭarq is almost a town, says Yāqūt.[4] Besides, the journey of one thousand miles from Mashhad to Robāt Ṭarq and from Robāt Ṭarq to Langar could not be covered in less than a month. In that case Humāyūn could not arrive at Jām on 29 December, 1544, the date given in Humāyūn's inscription there. On account of these various reasons Ṭarq of Jauhar and Abu'l-Fazl is not the Robāt Ṭarq of Yāqūt near Iṣfahān but the 'Turuk' of the map which lies some eight miles south-east of Mashhad.[5]

From Langar therefore Humāyūn went to Jām, i.e. Turbat-i-Shaikh Jām and from there went to Kharjird where he visited the tomb of Shāh Qāsim-i-Anwār. Jauhar is not quite accurate when he says that Humāyūn visited the tomb of Shāh Qāsim-i-Anwār at Langar, which is some ninety-five miles south of Kharjird. A part of the army joined Humāyūn at Kharjird.[6]

Proceeding from the district of Jām Humāyūn arrived at the fort of Kāh. Mr. Beveridge identifies this place with Kākh.[7] Kākh is of course on the route from Mashhad to Sīstān, but there is a distinct place named Qil'a-i-Kāh, and Goldsmid's description of the place seems to corroborate the statement of Jauhar [8] that it was at Qil'a-i-Kāh that one of the twelve holy *Imāms* disappeared and that 'the sounds of drums and trumpets are

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[1] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 142, has لنکر ; P.U.MS., fol. 65a, has لنگر ; I.O.MS., fol. 32a, has لنکر; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 64b, لنکر . Stewart, p. 112, has 'Lengur'.

[2] Qāsim-i-Anwār died and was buried in Kharjird in the district of Jām.—*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. ii, pp. 798-9. The *M.R.* says that Humāyūn visited the tomb of Shāh Qāsim-i-Anwār in Jām.—vol. ii, p. 18. For خرجرد vide Mas'ūd Kihān, p. 197.

[3] Vide the map of Persia at the end of the first volume of Curzon's *Persia*.

[4] Le Strange, p. 209. Vide the map of Persia in Curzon, *op. cit.*

[5] Mr. Beveridge thinks that Humāyūn went to Robāt Ṭarq near Iṣfahān.—*A.N.*, vol. i, p. 447, f.n.1. For 'Turuk' vide the map in Curzon, *op. cit.*

[6] *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī*, fol. 238b.

[7] Kākh has been described in Macgregor's *Khurāsān*, vol. i, p. 155.

[8] I.O.MS., fol. 32a; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 64b.

heard from the tomb'.[1] Mr. Beveridge reads it as Kākh, for it lies on the way from Iṣfahān to Sīstān but this is not correct, because Humāyūn did not go to Robāt Ṭarq near Iṣfahān, and Jauhar's description of the place does not apply to Kākh.

According to Jauhar Humāyūn went from Qil'a-i-Kāh to Tabas. As Tabas Kīlakī is much distant from Qil'a-i-Kāh, Tabas Masīnān, which lies about sixty miles south-east of Birjand, is probably meant. Tabas lay on his way from Jām to Qil'a-i-Kāh, and therefore it was natural and convenient for Humāyūn to have gone to Qil'a-i-Kāh via Tabas. The *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī* says that Humāyūn reached Sīstān from Mashhad via the fort of Ākāh and Ūk.[2] Ākāh is the Kāh of Jauhar and Abu'l-Fazl. It seems therefore that Humāyūn went from Qil'a-i-Kāh to Ūk and from there to Sīstān. Ūk was a fortress in the province of Sījistān or Sīstān, lying between Farāh and Zaranj, i.e. the town of Sīstān.[3] It does not seem probable that Humāyūn came down eastward to Qil'a-i-Kāh and then retraced north-westward to Tabas and again came south-eastward to Ūk on his way to Sīstān. It was more reasonable that Humāyūn came down from Jām to Tabas, from Tabas to Qil'a-i-Kāh and from Qil'a-i-Kāh he arrived at Sīstān via Ūk.[4]

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[1] Qil'a-i-Kāh is twelve *farsakhs*, i.e. thirty-six miles from Farāh.—Kinneir, *op. cit.*, p. 404. 'Kala'h-i-Kah is the name given to a tract of land about twelve miles in length and eight to nine miles broad, lying at the foot of a range of hills bearing the same name, and running due west and east. They are from 800 to 100 feet high, quite barren, and of a sandstone formation. . . . . From Kala'h-i-Kah to the Harut-Rud there is a distance of sixteen miles in a due westerly direction, and at the fifth mile the famous Ziarat of Imam Zaid is passed on the right of the road. This Ziarat, which is called the Rig-i-rawan, or moving sand, is most remarkable and singular. At the extreme west of the range of hills which has been described as lying in a straight line due north of the Kala'h-i-Kah district, is a hill some 600 feet high and half a mile long. The southern face of this hill, to the very summit, is covered with a drift of fine and very deep sand. None of the adjacent hills have any traces whatever of sand drift, and the surface of the surrounding desert is hard and pebbly. The westermost portion of this elevated ground contains the Ziarat, and the natives say, and with reason and truth, that at times the hill gives out a strange startling noise, which they compare to the rolling of drums. Captain Lovett, who was fortunate enough to hear it, describes its effect upon him as like the waiting of an Aeolian harp, or the sound occasioned by the vibration of several telegraph wires—very fine at first, but increasing every moment in volume and intensity; and the secret strain is said sometimes to last as long as an hour at a time. . . . . The natives, of course, ascribe miraculous properties to the hill. It is believed to be the grave of the Imam Zaid, the grandson of Husain, the son of Ali.'—Goldsmid, *Eastern Persia*, vol. i, pp. 326–8. Zaid, grandson of al-Husain b. 'Alī. He was the first Alid after the catastrophe of Kerbala to endeavour to deprive the Umaiyads of the Caliphate by armed rebellion where he placed himself at the disposal of the Kufans as *Imām*-*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. iv., pp. 1193-94.

[2] *M.R.*, vol. i, p. 593.

[3] Vide Section 3, Ch. II of this work.

[4] Faizī Sirhindī does not mention that Humāyūn went to Tabas but says that he went from Qil'a-i-Kāh to Sīstān.—fol. 64b.

At Sīstān Humāyūn stayed some fifteen days to inspect the Persian troops under Prince Murād which joined him there.[1] Ten thousand horsemen or according to some chroniclers twelve thousand,[2] as well as three hundred cuirassiers of the Shāh's own body-guard were sent under the nominal command of Prince Murād, who was a child, but under the guardianship of Budāgh Khān. Bāyazīd gives a list of the officers who accompanied the Prince. Abu'l-Faẓl also gives the list, based on Bāyazīd. Bāyazīd mentions the names of eighteen officers, but Abu'l-Faẓl adds eight more. It is interesting to note that among the nobles and high officers engaged in this expedition was Muḥammadī Mīrzā, the grandson of Mīrzā Jahān Shāh who was related to Bairām Khān.

5. Humāyūn leaves the dominion of Shāh Ṭahmāsp

As Humāyūn left Sīstān, he entered the dominion of his brother Mīrzā Kāmrān who was then the undisputed monarch of Qandahār, Kābul, Ghaznī as well as Badakhshān. Humāyūn ordered the Persian officers to capture the fortress of Bist.[3] The Persian officers, however, refused to obey as this was contrary, they said, to the orders they received from the Shāh. But Humāyūn told them that he would write to the Shāh about this, and then they marched into Garmsīr.[4] Mīr 'Abdu'l-Ḥai of Garmsīr came out of the fort of Lakī and did Humāyūn homage.

The Persian troops under 'Alī Sulṭān Taklū laid siege to the fort of Bist.[5] Shāham 'Alī Jalaīr and Mīr Khalaj, who held the fortress on behalf of Mīrzā Kāmrān, offered resistance for sometime, and 'Alī Sulṭān was killed during the siege, being deeply wounded by a musket-shot from the enemy. But the garrison was obliged to surrender, and Shāham 'Alī and Mīr Khalaj came out as suppliants before Humāyūn and joined his service.[6]

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[1] From Niẓāmu'd-dīn, p. 201, the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, fol. 419b and the *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Afāghina*, p. 306, it appears that Persian officers had accompanied Humāyūn.

[2] The following works estimate the Persian auxiliary force at 10,000: Bāyazīd, foll. 2a, 11b.; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 61b; *T.Alf.*, fol. 419b; Niẓāmu'd-dīn, p. 210; 'Ārif Qandahārī, p. 29; *Aḥ.T.*, p. 310; Firishta, Bombay Ed., vol. i, p. 446; Badāūnī, vol. i, p. 445; *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, fol. 59b and Add. 23513, fol. 426b; *R.T.*, fol. 622b; *Subḥ-i-Ṣādiq*, fol. 1931a; *M.T.Y.*, fol. 468a. The *T.Kh.T.*, foll. 286a-b, says that 10,000 horsemen were to form the auxiliary force under Prince Murād but actually about 20,000 were found at Sīstān.

The following works place the number at 12,000: Jauhar, MS. S., p. 143; P.U.MS., fol. 65b. Jauhar, however, says that actually 14,000 men were found at Sīstān. The India Office MS. does not say this, fol. 32a, but Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 64b, does. *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 441; *M.R.*, vol. i, p. 592; *M.A.A.*, fol. 81a; *H.R.*, fol. 170b; I.O.MS. No. 224, fol. 11a; *Af.T.*, fol. 124a; *F.S.*, fol. 22b; *A.A.A.*, p. 76.

The *Khulāsa-i-maqāl*, fol. 125b, says that the Shāh supplied Humāyūn with three thousand horsemen only.

[3] The *M.R.*, vol. i, p. 595, says that Bairām Khān, ordered 'Alī Sulṭān Taklū to capture Bist.

[4] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 32a; MS. S., p. 143; P.U.MS., fol. 65b; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 64b.

[5] Bāyazīd says that he was in the army which captured Bist—fol. 12b.

[6] Bāyazīd, foll. 12b–13a.

A body of Persian troops with some royal followers was sent in advance to pursue Mīrzā 'Askarī who, it was feared, was escaping from Qandahār with all treasures. Mīrzā 'Askarī, on learning of Humāyūn's approach, wrote to Kāmrān at Kābul for help, and Kāmrān sent a force under Qāsim Ḥusain and Amīr Jamīl and instructed him to offer resistance.[1] In the environs of Qandahār Mīrzā 'Askarī's men gave battle and a large number of Persians were killed. But ultimately the Persians were able to drive the enemy who sought refuge in the fort. Mīrzā 'Askarī waited in vain for the arrival of Mīrzā Kāmrān for succour and Humāyūn's men obtained victory (2 Muḥarram, 952/16 March, 1545). Mīrzā Kāmrān lost a distinguished officer in Bābā Sirhindī who was killed in one of these engagements. On 7 Muḥarram, 952/21 March, 1545, Humāyūn himself arrived at the vicinity of Qandahār with full Persian force.[2]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V

Chronology of Humāyūn at the Safavid court and his homeward journey

The chronology of Humāyūn's stay at the Safavid court and his journey homeward is very difficult to fix, for we obtain very few references to dates. We know the date of the meeting of the two monarchs—Jumāda-al-awwāl, 951/July, 1544.[3] The next date that we find is from Abu'l-Faẓl—the arrival of Humāyūn and Bairām at Qandahār on 7 Muḥarram, 952/21 March, 1545. We obtain no other date from any other history except Bāyazīd's Memoirs. Bāyazīd says that Humāyūn reached Mashhad in the night of 'Id Ramaẓān, 940.[4] The year 940 is obviously a mistake for 951. 'Id Ramaẓān, that is, the end of Ramaẓān, 951, is 15 December, 1544. This date agrees with the statement of Jauhar that while Humāyūn was at Mashhad, it snowed almost continuously.[5]

Approximately, as far as we know of the stages of the journey with halt at different places, it seems that one month and a half passed since Humāyūn took leave of the Shāh at Miyāna. In 3 days, we are told by Jauhar, Humāyūn reached Tabrīz. We do not know the duration of his

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[1] *T.A.M.*, fol. 209a.

[2] Humāyūn arrived at the vicinity of Qandahār five days after the Persian troops had established there.—Bāyazīd, fol. 3a; Niẓāmu'd-dīn, p. 210; Badāūnī, vol. i, p. 446. The *T.I.N.S.* simply says that Humāyūn arrived at the vicinity of Qandahār in Muḥarram, 952.—Add. 23,513, fol. 426b. The *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī*, fol. 238b, says that Humāyūn arrived at Qandahār on 11 Muḥarram, 952/25 March, 1545.

[3] *Tārīkh-ī-Ibrāhīmī*, fol. 237b; *T.Alf.*, fol. 419a; *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 437.

[4] *Mukhtaṣar*, fol. 12a. Jauhar says that Humāyūn saw the moon of 'Īd Ramaẓān when he arrived near Mashhad: دوازده کروهی از مشهد رسیده بودند که ماه عید رمضان نمایان شد *T.W.*, I.O.MS., fol. 32a. Faiẓī Sirhindī has the same on fol. 64a. Stewart does not mention this.

[5] *T.W.*, MS. S., p. 142. Bāyazīd also says that during Humāyūn's stay at Mashhad, it began to rain and snow was falling—fol. 12a.

stay at Tabrīz. He arrived at Ardabīl in 4 days and remained there for a week—7 days. The distance from Ardabīl to the Caspian Sea is about 30 miles and he covered the journey both ways in 3 days. According to Mustawfī Sarkhāb was 2 days' march from Ardabīl. From Sarkhāb to Qazwīn via Khalkhāl, Ṭārum and Manjīl it is a distance of about 200 miles and on the basis of 30 miles a day we may guess that Humāyūn could cover the distance in 7 days. It is not stated that he halted at these places but we are told by Abu'l-Fazl that Humāyūn remained 3 days at Kharazbīl. At Qazwīn he could not halt. From Qazwīn Ṭihrān is about 90 miles away and according to Curzon's estimate Mashhad is about 560 miles from Ṭihrān.[1] Therefore approximately Humāyūn had to travel a distance of 650 miles from Qazwīn to Mashhad. Curzon covered the distance of 560 miles from Mashhad to Ṭihrān 'in the comfortable time of nine days, doing an average of sixty miles a day'. 'This is slow rather than speedy travelling for Persia', he thinks. The problem of communication was far more difficult in those times, but Humāyūn, we may reasonably suppose, could cover this distance in 20 days. So altogether we find 3+4+7+3+2 +7+3+20 = 49 days. It is quite probable that Humāyūn travelled more than 30 miles a day as he was speeding up to Sīstān and he finished the journey from Miyāna to Mashhad in about one month and a half.

According to our chronology the meeting of the two monarchs took place at the end of Jumāda-al-awwāl, and so from the time Humāyūn left Miyāna to his arrival at Mashhad, we obtain altogether four months. If we omit forty-five days from this period, we obtain full two months and two weeks; and so during this period Humāyūn remained with Shāh Ṭahmāsp. We are told by Jauhar that for two months there was no intercourse of any kind between the two monarchs. It was therefore for a very brief period—some two weeks—that Humāyūn had the privilege of the Shāh's society.[2] From the account in the chronicles written from the Safavid point of view it seems as well that the period of Humāyūn's stay was very brief. According to the *Rauzatu's-Ṣafavīya*, however, Humāyūn spent four months with the Shāh.[3] Khur Shāh says that Humāyūn spent about a month only in company with Shāh Ṭahmāsp.[4] According to the *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī* Humāyūn remained with the Shāh for two or three months.[5] From the *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh* of Ḥasan it seems that Humāyūn stayed with Shāh Ṭahmāsp for a few months.[6]

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[1] *Persia*, vol. i, p. 245.

[2] From Bāyazīd's account of the hunting at Takht-i-Sulaimān, Sūj Būlāq and other places, it appears that Humāyūn had the Shāh's company for a longer period.—*Mukhtaṣar*, foll. 10b-11b. 'Altogether Humāyūn's stay in Persia was for little more than a year, and but a small part of that period was spent in Tahmāsp's company'.—Beveridge in *Calcutta Review*, January 1898, p. 187.

[3] *R.S.*, fol. 88b.

[4] *T.I.N.S.*, Add. 23513, fol. 426b.

[5] *M.R.*, vol. ii, p. 19. The *Khulāṣatu't-Tawārīkh* says that Humāyūn stayed in Persia for three years—p. 308, Delhi Ed.

[6] Fol. 121b.

CHAPTER VI

QANDAHĀR—THE BONE OF CONTENTION BETWEEN PERSIA AND INDIA

1. The first siege of Qandahār

'The fort of Qandahar guards the road to India from the west and to Kabul from the south. Its strategic importance lies in the fact that only 360 miles of level country separate it from Herat, near which the lofty Hindu Kush range sinks down to afford an easy passage to an invading host from Central Asia or Persia. Such an army must pass through Qandahar and must be turned back there, if ever at all. In an age when Kabul was part of the Delhi empire, Qandahar was our indispensable first line of defence.'[1] This strategic importance of Qandahār was fully realized by Humāyūn and he saw the unavoidable necessity of possessing Qandahār as a base for his operations to recover the territory of Hindūstān.

Humāyūn and Bairām accordingly laid siege to the fort of Qandahār. Mīrzā 'Askarī was the governor of Qandahār on behalf of Mīrzā Kāmrān. The fort was defended by a strong garrison and the siege was likely to be prolonged.[2] For three months fight took place every day and men of both sides were killed. At the beginning of the siege Aḥmad Sulṭān Shāmlū, Ḥaidar Sulṭān Shaibānī, his two sons 'Alī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān, Maqṣūd Beg Akhtabegī Shāmlū, Dōst Bābā Qurbegī, Ḥaidar 'Alī Akhtabegī, Mihtar Yūsuf Khazinadār, Mirak Mārstānī and Ḥaidar Tabrīzī made a vigorous attack on the fort and damaged the walls. Bābā Dōst and Mihtar Yūsuf were killed and some others were injured.[3]

Bairām Khān thought it proper and expedient to bring about meanwhile reconciliation with Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā 'Askarī and draw other princes and nobles, who had joined Mīrzā Kāmrān, to Humāyūn's side. Bairām was accordingly despatched to Kābul as Humāyūn's ambassador to Kāmrān.[4] It was a diplomatic mission and Bairām played the game well.

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[1] Sir Jadunāth Sarkār, *Short History of Aurangzīb*, pp. 21-2.

[2] 'The fort was very strong, for it was of mud and so the breaching of it was very difficult. The breadth of the wall was sixty yards.'—*A.N.*, vol. i, p. 463. 'Sixty yards' is probably a mistake for 'six yards', as Beveridge suggests.

[3] Bāyazīd was partially an eye-witness of the siege, and, though during the siege he went away from Qandahār, he remained so near as to have gathered valuable informations about it. Hence his account is of importance only second to Jauhar's. But Bāyazīd's account of the first siege of Qandahār, foll. 13a-b, 17a, is not systematic and as detailed as might be expected.

[4] It seems from Niẓāmu'd-dīn, p. 210, and Badāūnī, vol. i, p. 446, that Bairām was sent after the siege had lasted for three months. Firishta, Bombay Ed., vol. i, p. 447, says that the siege had lasted for six months when Bairām was sent on diplomatic mission.

He visited Mīrzā Hindāl, Mīrzā Sulaimān of Badakhshān and his son Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā and Ulugh Mīrzā, a grandson of Sulṭān Ḥusain of Herāt.[1]

The siege was protracted on account of the energy and diligence of Mīrzā 'Askarī who spared no pains to defend it. But one night the Mughuls stealthily approached the Chahār Dara side of the fort and established a battery there, and next morning the Persian troops moved forward to attack. But Mīrzā 'Askarī opened negotiation and sent a message through Mīr Ṭāhir to cease hostilities till the arrival of Khānzāda Begam. Mīrzā 'Askarī simply deceived Humāyūn to have a respite and strengthened the fort. Mīrzā Kāmrān apparently wrote to Mīrzā 'Askarī to cease hostilities but secretly urged him to continue the siege and wrote that he was coming to his aid.[2]

After a month and a half Bairām returned to Qandahār. In spite of the best efforts of Khānzāda Begam, who had accompanied Bairām from Kābul, Mīrzā 'Askarī continued hostilities. The Persian troops grew weary of the protracted siege and thought of returning home. They had expected that at Qandahār the followers of Humāyūn, who were formerly his subjects, would now join him but they did not. At this time they heard that Kāmrān was coming to help 'Askarī. The Persians therefore became dubious as to their success. Mīrzā Kāmrān, however, could not come to the aid of Mīrzā 'Askarī. Soon the diplomacy of Bairām Khān bore fruit and Mīrzā Kāmrān was isolated. Ulugh Mīrzā, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, Ḥasan Khān, Mīr Barka, Fazail Beg, brother of Mun'im Khān, Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān, Shir-afkan Beg and other chiefs deserted Kāmrān and joined Humāyūn.[3] The garrison also became impatient and many began to escape. Noted among them were Khizr Khwāja Khān, Khizr Khān Hazāra, Isma'īl Beg and Muyyad Beg. Despaired of success Mīrzā 'Askarī sued for peace and surrendered the fort on 25 Jumāda-al-ākhir, 952/3 September, 1545. The siege of Qandahār thus lasted for about five months and a half.[4]

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[1] It seems that Shāh Ṭahmāsp also played some part in bringing about reconciliation among the princes, for he sent letters and gifts to Kāmrān, Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm.—Bāyazīd, foll. 14a–16b; *A,N.*, vol. i, p. 462; *M.R.*, vol. ii, p. 21.

[2] *M.R.*, vol. ii, p. 22.

[3] *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 465; Niẓāmu'd-dīn, p. 210-1; Badāūnī, vol. i, pp. 446-7; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 65a; *R.T.*, fol. 623a.

[4] The *Aḥ.T.*, p. 311, says that the siege of Qandahār lasted for eight months but this is incorrect. 'Ārif Qandahārī says: 'For six months Mīrzā 'Askarī remained besieged within the fort'.—*Tārīkh-i-Akbarī*, p. 29. According to the *Af.T.*, fol. 126a, the siege lasted for seven months. The *T.I.N.S.*, Add. 23,513, fol. 426b, and the *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī*, fol. 238b, simply give Jumāda-al-awwāl, 952, as the date of the surrender of the fort. The *Pādshāh-nāma*, vol. i, p. 64, and the *Mirātu'l-'Ālam*, fol. 153b, give 25 Jumāda-al-ākhir, 952. From the *Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq*, foll. 1931a-b, and the *Lubbu't-Tawārīkh-i-Hind*, fol. 84b, it appears that the siege lasted at least for six months. Khāfī Khān, vol. i, p. 120, says that the siege lasted for six months and gives the date of the conquest of the fort as the beginning of Ramaẓān, 952. The *Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh* of Ḥasan, fol. 121b, says that 'Askarī surrendered after the siege had lasted for three months.

Khānzāda Begam came out of the fort and asked pardon for Mīrzā 'Askarī. Bairām Khān hung the sword round Mīrzā 'Askarī's neck and introduced him to the king. He was kept under surveillance. After the surrender of 'Askarī Humāyūn ordered the Persians to give three days' time to the garrison and inmates of the fort to come out during which they should in no way be molested. The city of Qandahār, in accordance with the stipulation of the Shāh, was given over to Prince Murād on 7 September, 1545 and Humāyūn and his followers retreated to the Chār Bāgh of Bābur on the Arghandāb. Prince Murād and Budāgh Khān took possession of the fort.[1] The Persian troops in fact had conquered Qandahār by their arms and they were *de facto* in possession of the fort.[2] The treasures of the fort were sent to the Shāh as offering of friendship from Humāyūn and the Shāh also sent him nine robes and one mule.[3]

2. Causes of the siege of Qandahār by Humāyūn against the Persians

For the siege of Qandahār by Humāyūn against the Persians various causes are given. Jauhar says that the Persian soldiers demanded that Mīrzā 'Askarī should be sent to Shāh Ṭahmāsp which Humāyūn refused.[4] They also tried to cut off all provisions to the Mughul camp which lay in the neighbourhood of Qandahār. Bāyazīd does not offer any grievance against the Persians but plainly states that on the death of Prince Murād the nobles advised Humāyūn to capture the fort, to place the women and the retinue there and then to march to Kābul and by way of explanation the Shāh was to be told that as Ghaznī and Kābul had not yet been taken and as there was no other shelter for his people, the Shāh should give the fort to Humāyūn for some time as a loan.[5] Abu'l-Fazl naturally

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[1] The *Af.T.*, foll. 125b-126a, says that Prince Murād died of excessive heat on the way at Garmsīr and his body was taken to the tomb of *Imām* Rizā at Mashhad and that after the conquest of the fort of Qandahār, it was given over to Budāq Khān as it was previously settled that the fort was to be given over to Prince Murād.

[2] *M.R.*, vol. ii, p. 23.

[3] Stewart, p. 115, has 'an honorary dress and a rich dagger'. Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 33a, and Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 66a, have نه پارچه و یک خنجر. Sir Jadunāth Sarkār's MS., p. 146, and the P.U.MS., foll. 67a-b, have قاطر instead of the Hindūstānī word خنجر. Jauhar mentions the circumstances in which the treasures were surrendered. According to Amīr Muḥmūd it was stipulated, at the time of farewell, between the two monarchs that the treasures of Mīrza 'Askarī should be sent to the Shāh and in accordance with the stipulation Shāhwardī Kajal took possession of the treasures and took them to the Shāh—*T.A.M.*, fol. 210a. The *R.S.*, fol. 89a, says that it was previously arranged between Humāyūn and the Shāh that the treasures of Mīrzā 'Askarī were to be given to the Persians. Abu'l-Fazl, however, says that the properties of 'Askarī were distributed by Humāyūn among his soldiers.—*A.N.*, vol. i, p. 468.

[4] Jauhar, I.O.MS., fol. 32b; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 65b; Stewart, p. 115. Sir Jadunāth Sarkār's and the P.U.MSS. do not mention this.

[5] *Mukhtaṣar*, fol. 17a.

labours hard to justify the siege and furnishes a variety of reasons. After the siege of the fort many Persians returned home without leave of Humāyūn and this is mentioned by Bāyazīd also.[1] Secondly, Budāgh Khān and his men oppressed the subject population who implored justice from Humāyūn. Thirdly, as Humāyūn was to march to Kābul, he asked of Budāgh Khān accommodation in the fort for some of his ladies and for his goods and chattels, but Budāgh Khān refused. The chief officers accordingly advised Humāyūn that there was no way but to capture the fort. Though Humāyūn hesitated to act against the Shāh, yet urgent necessity made him agree. Just then Prince Murād died and Humāyūn saw that it would be improper to leave the population to the tender mercy of the Persians, who, Abu'l-Fazl adds, had not only acted contrary to orders but had joined the enemy and was intriguing with Mīrzā Kāmrān.[2] From 'Ārif Qandahārī it seems that Humāyūn took advantage of the death of Prince Murād and laid siege to the fort.[3] Badāūnī says that, as winter was approaching, Humāyūn asked Budāgh Khān for giving quarter to his people in the fort, but Budāgh Khān refused. The chiefs advised Humāyūn to capture the fort due to urgent necessity and that, after conquering Kābul and Badakhshān, they would compensate the Persians by giving more territories. Besides, the Persians forbade the Mughuls to enter the fort and tyrannized over the population of the city.[4] Nizāmu'd-dīn also says that as Budāgh Khān refused to give shelter to Humāyūn's people, the nobles urged him to seize the fort out of necessity and that, after the conquest of Kābul and Badakhshān, it would be restored to the Shāh.[5] The *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* exactly follows Nizāmu'd-dīn and on the whole the *Haft Iqlīm* and Firishta also.[6] Khāfī Khān adds that when Humāyūn asked Budāgh Khān for accommodation, the Persian commandant replied that as the fort had been delivered to the Persians, no one could be allowed in without the permission of the Shāh.[7]

According to the *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh* the Persian auxiliaries, four days after the conquest of the fort, returned to their own country without taking the permission of Humāyūn, notwithstanding the order of the Shāh to recover Kābul and Ghaznī and deliver them to Humāyūn. Ulugh Mīrzā thought it advisable to seize Qandahār from Budāgh Khān and, leaving the families and dependants there, to march upon Kābul. Humāyūn approved of this plan.[8] Amīr Maḥmūd says that Budāgh Khān occupied Qandahār and Humāyūn with the remaining Persian officers were waiting outside. The Persians, however, returned home without taking Humāyūn's permission, though the Shāh had expressly ordered them not to return before conquering

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[1] Jauhar also says that the Persians left Qandahār with 'Askarī's treasury, fearing that Humāyūn would do them harm as his father Bābur had done harm to Najm Beg.—MS. S., p. 146; P.U.MS., fol. 67a; Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 66a.

[2] *A.N.*, vol. i, pp. 471–73. The *Iqbāl-nāma*, fol. 85a, gives similar reasons.

[3] *Tārīkh-i-Akbarī*, p. 30.

[4] *M.T.*, vol. i, pp. 447-8.

[5] *T.A.*, p. 211 and R.A.S.B. Ed., vol. ii, p. 63.

[6] *T.Alf.*, fol. 421b; *Haft Iqlīm*, fol. 182b; Firishta, Bombay Ed., vol. i, p. 447.

[7] *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*, vol. i, p. 120.

[8] *Aḥ.T.*, pp. 311-2.

Kābul and Ghaznī and delivering them to Humāyūn's servants. In this helpless condition Humāyūn consulted his men as to what he should do. Ulugh Mīrzā said that the Qizilbāsh troops had behaved improperly and returned home contrary to the order of the Shāh, and the city of Qandahār, which had been in possession of Humāyūn for a long time and had been now recovered by his strength, had been taken by Budāgh Khān who had placed armed guards at the gates so that the King's followers might not enter the city, and that it was now proper to seize the fort and place family and goods there and then march towards Kābul. This plan was accepted by Humāyūn. *The Afẓal-ut-Tawārīkh* simply says that, as Humāyūn was determined on conquering Kābul, he decided, on the advice of his nobles, to seize the fort of Qandahār and place the families and goods there and then to march to Kābul.[2]

All authorities agree in stating that, after the death of Prince Murād and on the advice of his counsellors, Humāyūn decided to seize Qandahār, before marching on to Kābul. The necessity of possessing Qandahār, as a shelter for his people and goods and as a base for his military operations against Kāmrān, was the main cause of Humāyūn's siege of Qandahār, though other causes as mentioned in different chronicles, might have also influenced him. Khāfī Khān utters the truth when he says that Bairām Khān and the nobles decided to take the fort by any means.[3] The *'Ālamārā-i-'Abbāsī*, though written from the Persian point of view, plainly says that Humāyūn took the fort from Budāgh Khān on grounds of necessity—his affairs were still unsettled and his people had no shelter.[4] Humāyūn had now considerable number of followers to support him. Many of the Hindūstānīs had by this time joined him.[5] Mīrzā Hindāl had escaped from Kābul and was to join Humāyūn, deserting Mīrzā Kāmrān.[6] The *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* says that from every direction troops in large number began to gather round Humāyūn.[7] It is said that Humāyūn had at this time five thousand horsemen.[8] Many of the Persian troops had returned home.[9] Budāgh Khān therefore was not so strong as he had been. The Persians had sold seventeen hundred horses to merchants who were in the vicinity of Qandahār. Humāyūn seized these horses and thus added to his strength.[10] All these various circumstances encouraged Humāyūn to besiege the fort.

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[1] *T.A.M.*, foll. 210a-b.

[2] *Af.T.*, fol. 126b. The *T.I.N.S.*, and the *R.S.* do not mention the second siege of Qandahār by Humāyūn. The *T.I.N.S.* strangely says that, after the death of Prince Murād, Qandahār remained in the hands of the Shāh's servants, and his nephew Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, son of Bahrām Mīrzā, was placed in the government of Qandahār by order of the Shāh.—Add. 23,513, foll. 426-427a.

[3] *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*, vol. i, p. 120. [4] *A.A.A.*, p. 69. [5] Stewart, p. 115.

[6] *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 469. [7] *Af.T.*, fol. 126a. [8] *Aḥ.T.*, p. 311.

[9] *T.Alf.*, fol. 421b; *Aḥ.T.*, p. 311. Many of the Persian auxiliary troops had returned to 'Irāq and except Budāgh Khān, Abu'l-Fatḥ Sulṭān Afshār and Ṣufī Dil Sulṭān, none remained in the service of Mīrzā Murād.—*T.A.*, p. 211, R.A.S.B. Ed., vol. ii, p. 63; *R.T.*, fol. 623a.

[10] Jauhar, P.U.MS., fol. 67b; Stewart, p. 116.

3. The second siege of Qandahār

In spite of all favourable circumstances Humāyūn apprehended that it would not be possible to take the fort by force. So recourse was had to stratagem. Humāyūn sent a messenger to Budāgh Khān to ask his permission to keep Mīrzā 'Askarī in prison at Qandahār to which Budāgh Khān agreed. It was arranged that troops should lie in ambush in the environs of Qandahār and should enter the fort while 'Askarī was to be delivered to Budāgh Khān. Bairām Khān with a body of troops was to be near the Gandigān gate. Ulugh Mīrzā and Ḥājī Muḥammad with another body of troops were deputed to the Māshūr gate and Muyyad Beg to the New gate. Ḥājī Muḥammad was responsible for this plan.[1]

As the Persians were suspicious of Humāyūn that he might capture Qandahār, for some days they allowed none to enter the city.[2] Some Hindūstānīs and Mughuls entered the fort along with camels, carrying grass and fuel wood. And with loads of grass on their head they entered and came out of the fort for some days. One night they hid arms in their loads and as they entered, they killed the gate-keepers who were not alert and opened the gates to the troops who were awaiting nearby. Ḥājī Muḥammad was one of the persons to enter with camels but he was challenged. His excuse that he was carrying Mīrzā 'Askarī to the fort by Budāgh Khān's orders did not satisfy them. It was dawn. Ḥājī Muḥammad defeated the warders and he and Ulugh Mīrzā first entered the fort by the Māshūr gate with two hundred men. Bairām Khān with his men entered by the Gandigān gate.[3] The Persians were completely surprised and they took shelter in the citadel. Budāgh Khān saw no hope of defending the fort and he with his men retreated to Persia. In this way Humāyūn recovered the city of Qandahār from the hands of Mīrzā Kāmrān and the Persians. Humāyūn made over the city to Bairām Khān in preference, as 'Ārif Qandahārī points out, to the princes of the royal household, because Bairām was a *persona grata* with Shāh Ṭahmāsp. And he wrote to the Shāh that as Budāgh Khān had behaved himself improperly and as Prince Murād had died and as Bairām Khān was among his faithful servants,[4] he had given Qandahār to Bairām as his *jagir* and the city would remain a dependency of his kingdom. The Shāh ratified this arrangement and he

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[1] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 148, and P.U.MS., fol. 68a; *A.N.*, vol. i, pp. 473-4.

[2] *T.Alf.*, fol. 421b.

[3] According to the *Aḥ.T.*, p. 313, Ulugh Mīrzā entered by the Māshūr gate with three hundred (سیصد) men while Ḥājī Muḥammad entered by the Gandigān gate. According to the *T.A.M.*, fol. 211a, Ulugh Mīrzā entered by the Māshūr gate with about two hundred (دویست) men and Ḥājī Muḥammad by the Gandigān gate. None of them mention the part of Bairām Khān. The *Iqbāl-nāma*, fol. 86a, following Abu'l-Faẓl, mentions that Bairām entered by the Gandigān gate.

[4] The *A.A.A.*, p. 76, says that Humāyūn entrusted the government of Qandahār to Bairām as he was the well-wisher of both:

از بوداق خان گرفته به بیرام خان ترکمان سپردند که چون دولتخواه طرفین است او نگاه دارد

sent people belonging to the Bahārlu tribe, from Hamadān to Qandahār to remain there under Bairām.[1]

The date of the siege and conquest of Qandahār by Humāyūn is not given in any chronicle. If we are to believe Jauhar, at least one month must have elapsed between the first and second siege, for Jauhar says that Humāyūn, after delivering the fort to the Persians, encamped at Khilja Bāgh for a month.[2] Humāyūn delivered the fort to Budāgh Khān on 7 September, 1545; so Humāyūn's capture of Qandahār could not occur before the second week of October, 1545.[3]

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[1] *M.R.*, vol. ii, p. 23. In the *Akbar-nama*, vol. i (Lucknow text), p. 264, and (A.S.B. text) p. 241, the words تعلق بشاه دارد mean—the city remains attached to (i.e. a dependency of) the Shāh—rather than—'Bairām who was a dependent of the Shāh.' The *Iqbāl-nāma* has the following on fol. 86a:

قندهار را از او گرفته به بیرام خان سپردیم و بدستور معهود تعلق بملازمان ایشان دارد

Both the I.O.MS. of Jauhar, foll. 33a-b, and Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 67b, say that Humāyūn delivered the fort to Bairām and he exalted him with the title of Khān Khānān. According to other chronicles the title was conferred on Bairām after the battle of Māchīwāra.

[2] Jauhar, MS. S., p. 146 and I.O.MS., fol. 33a.

[3] Jauhar, P.U.MS., foll. 67b–68b. Bāyazīd dismisses the second siege of Qandahār in a few lines—foll. 17a-b. The *Akbar-nāma* gives details and, mainly following it, the *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī* and the *Iqbāl-nāma*, foll. 85a, et seqq., give some details. The *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* gives a brief account on fol. 126b but from it it appears that the Persians made no opposition and Humāyūn and his followers, five hundred Chaghatāis, entered the fort peacefully and Humāyun explained the situation to Budāgh Khān who surrendered the fort without opposition, and left. *The Tārīkh-i-Amīr Maḥmūd* gives details on foll. 210a–211b. 'Arif Qandahārī, p. 30. Among later chronicles Khāfī Khān describes in detail the second siege of Qandahār and the surprise attack of the Mughuls.—*Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*, vol. i, p. 120. Also *Lubbu't-Tawārīkh-i-Hind*, foll. 84b-85a.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

1. The recovery of Qandahār closes the period of exile: several questions regarding Humāyūn's life in Īrān

The recovery of Qandahār from the hands of the Persians is an important landmark in the history of Humāyūn, for it really closes the period of his exile. With Qandahār as his base, defended by his ablest officer, Humāyūn could now direct his attention to the conquest of Kābul and Ghaznī as steps towards the ultimate goal—the recovery of Hindūstān. Several questions naturally raise themselves as we close the account of Humāyūn's exile in Īrān. What sort of treatment did Humāyūn receive at the Ṣafavid court? What was the nature of Humāyūn's political relationship with the Shāh of Īrān? Was Humāyūn guilty of treachery in the capture of Qandahār? Did Humāyūn recover his ancestral territory with Persian help? What were the ultimate results of Humāyūn's visit to Persia?

2. The Shāh's treatment of Humāyūn

The Shāh's treatment of Humāyūn was marked by a curious compound of courtesy and insult, hostility and hospitality, generosity and meanness.[1] The religious bigotry of Shāh Ṭahmāsp was mainly responsible for his cold and rude treatment of his royal guest, and this attitude changed only when Humāyūn agreed to profess the Shī'ah faith. His very life was for some time at stake and Humāyūn therefore purchased the safety of his life at the cost of his faith. There can be no doubt that he accepted the creed of the *Imāms*, though after leaving the territory of the Shāh he did not show that zeal for Shiism as he had done in Īrān. Humāyūn's conversion to the Shī'ah creed had very little religious significance; it was purely a political move.

3. Humāyūn's political relationship with the Shāh of Īrān

Though Humāyūn sacrificed his personal religion in Īrān, he did not sacrifice his political independence. The Shāh of course granted titles to Humāyūn's officers and helped him in men and money, but there is no evidence that Humāyūn on returning to India acknowledged the overlordship of the Shāh. And as regards this granting of title by the Shāh, it is significant that the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh*, which is written from the Safavid standpoint, says that the Shāh conferred the titles of Khān and Sulṭān on

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[1] It is difficult to agree with Beveridge when he remarks: 'Taken as a whole, Tahmāsp's treatment of his visitor was creditable to himself and to his nation, and may compare not unfavourably with Lewis XIV's reception of James II,' *Calcutta Review*, January, 1898, p. 187.

Bairām Beg and Ḥājī Muḥammad respectively on behalf of Humāyūn.[1] After the capture of Qandahār from Budāgh Khān Humāyūn wrote to Shāh Ṭahmāsp that Bairām Beg, who was placed in its government, would remain obedient to the Shāh or (if we accept another interpretation of the sentence) Qandahār would remain a dependency of the Shāh. It was a highly diplomatic message by which Humāyūn avoided the delicate point of his political relationship with the Safavid court on the question of Qandahār. Apparently Humāyūn acknowledged the overlordship of Shāh Ṭahmāsp over the city of Qandahār, though he actually possessed it. In reality Humāyūn only explained his conduct and tried to conceal the *fait accompli.* The Shāh, however, was forced to recognize the *fait accompli* and did not trouble himself about this question.[2]

In his letters to Humāyūn the titles that have been used by Shāh Ṭahmāsp also prove the absolute independence of Humāyūn.[3] In his reply to the first letter of Humāyūn, asking permission to enter his territory, the Shāh refers to Humāyūn as Bādshāh.[4] In his *farmān* to Muḥammad Khān, governor of Herāt, giving instructions for the reception of Humāyūn, Shāh Ṭahmāsp uses both *Bādshāh* and *nawwāb* for Humāyūn.[5] In his reply to the letter of Humāyūn, asking permission to visit Mashhad, the Shāh does not refer to Humāyūn as *Bādshāh* but as *nawwāb-i-'āli-maqām*, nor does he use regal epithets.[6] But in the letter, which Shāh Ṭahmāsp wrote to Humāyūn when the latter had left Persia, he addresses Humāyūn as *Bādshāh* and uses all regal epithets.[7]

The use of the word *nawwāb* for Humāyūn by the Shāh may be interpreted to mean the vassalage or subordination of Humāyūn to the Shāh. But this is not quite correct. The Shāh uses the word *nawwāb-i-humāyūn* for himself.[8] Amīr Maḥmūd uses the word *nawwāb—nawwāb-i-jahānpanāh, nawwāb-i-kāmyāb-i-āshraf, nawwāb-i-kāmyāb*—for Shāh Ṭahmāsp,[9] just as he uses the word *nawwāb* for Humāyūn.[10] The *Khulāṣa-i-maqāl*, which is written from the Safavid standpoint and was composed by an officer of the Persian court, similarly uses the word *nawwāb-i-āshraf* for Shāh Ṭahmāsp.[11]

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[1] *Af.T.*, fol. 124b: بیرام بیگ بہارلو را......خطاب خانی و رکن السلطنت که از جانب نواب محمد همایون بادشاه مرحمت کردند و حاجی محمد کوکهٔ نواب همایون بادشاه را سلطانی عنایت فرمودند

[2] Iskandar Munshī also tries to conceal the real point in this matter, i.e. the disgrace of defeat, and says: 'For the few years when Humāyūn was struggling against Kāmrān at Kābul and Badakhshān, Qandahār remained under Bairām and in view of the interest of Humāyūn and services and loyalty of Bairām, the Shāh overlooked the matter of Qandahār and did not demand its restitution.'—*A.A.A.*, p. 69.

[3] Dr. Rām Prasād Tripāthi expresses this opinion in his admirable and learned work '*Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*', p. 157.

[4] *I.N.*, foll. 14a-b; *D.M.*, foll. 112b–113a.

[5] *Af.T.*, foll. 117b et seqq.; Bāyazīd, foll. 3b et seqq.; *A.N.*, Lucknow text, vol. i, pp. 225 et seqq., and A.S.B. text, vol. i, pp. 207 et seqq.; *F.Q.*, pp. 153 et. seqq.

[6] Add. 7688, fol. 105a.

[7] *Af.T.*, fol. 161b.

[8] *F.Q.*, pp. 165, 345; *Af.T.*, foll. 162a-b; Bāyazīd, fol. 5a; *A.N.*, Lucknow text, vol. i, p. 227; *I.N.*, fol. 14b; *D.M.*, foll. 112b-113a.

[9] *T.A.M.*, foll. 205a, 206b, 207a.

[10] *T.A.M.*, fol. 209a.

[11] *K.M.*, fol. 123b.

Iskandar Munshī frequently uses the words *nawwāb-i-humāyūn* for his patron-king Shāh 'Abbās. Neither in the matter of Qandahār, nor in the letters of the Shāh, nor in the conduct of Humāyūn we find any evidence of Humāyūn's vassalage to the Safavid throne. In the letter that Shāh Ṭahmāsp wrote to Akbar, expressing condolences for the tragic death of his father and congratulations on his accession, the Shāh uses titles and epithets for Akbar which go to show that he fully recognized the absolute independence of the Chaghatāi dynasty in India.[1]

4. Was Humāyūn guilty of treachery in the capture of Qandahār?

As regards the question of the capture of Qandahār, there can be no doubt that Humāyūn was guilty of treachery when he suddenly fell on the Persians. According to the Shāh's stipulation with Humāyūn Qandahār was to be delivered to the officers of the former.[2] If Persian troops oppressed the people, if the Persian commandant behaved improperly by refusing accommodation to Humāyūn's people, if they failed in their duty to help him in the recovery of Kābul, Ghaznī and Badakhshān, the proper method of redress would have been to report to the Shāh about their conduct. None of the causes, mentioned in Indian chronicles and histories written from the Safavid standpoint, justify the forcible and sudden capture of the fort which meant hostility against their sovereign with whom Humāyūn was at peace and whose hospitality he had enjoyed. Of all the charges laid at the door of the Persians, the most serious was the return of the Persian troops without rendering Humāyūn proper help as instructed by the Shāh.[3] There is no evidence that the Shāh was responsible for the

[1] Add. 7688, foll. 115b-116a.

[2] *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 471; Badāūnī, vol. i, p. 445; Niẓāmu'd-dīn, p. 211; Firishta, vol. i, p. 237; *R.T.*, fol. 623a; *A.A.A.*, p. 69. The *Af.T.*, fol. 125a, says that the Shāh gave help on condition that after the conquest of Qandahār, the servants of Humāyūn should deliver the fort to Budāq Khān Qāchār as gift to the Shāh and on fol. 126a it says that Qandahār was given to Budāq Khān according to this stipulation. According to the *T.I.N.S.*, Add. 23,513, fol. 426b, it was stipulated that whenever Humāyūn would recover his ancestral dominion, he should give away Qandahār with its dependencies and treasures to the servants of Prince Murād for residence and that none should enter it; and on fol. 427a it is stated that after the conquest of Qandahār the city with its treasures was surrendered to Prince Murād according to the stipulation. The *R.S.*, fol. 89a, says that Qandahār was to belong to the Shāh according to the arrangement between Shāh Ṭahmāsp and Humāyūn. The *T.A.M.* seems to be the only chronicle which says that Qandahār was to remain in possession of Humāyūn. On fol. 208b it says that Shāh Ṭahmāsp ordered Budāq Khān Qāchār, Shāh Quli Khān and the Persian officers who commanded the auxiliary force to conquer Zamīn Dāwār and Qandahār, and afterwards Kābul and Ghaznī and to punish the faithless persons. . . . . The annexed territories should then be given to Humāyūn and the officers of the Persian army should return home.

[3] *Ah.T.*, p. 311, and sec. 2 of Ch. VI of this work; *T.A.M.*, fol. 208b, and the preceding footnote of this chapter. The *T.I.N.S.*, Add. 23,513, fol. 426b, says that the Persian troops were instructed to seize Kābul and Qandahār from the hands of Humāyūn's hostile brothers . . . . and then return. According to the *R.S.*, fol. 88b, the Persian troops were instructed by the Shāh to take Qandahār and punish Humā-

conduct of the Persian troops and it seems they acted in that manner without the knowledge of the Shāh. The truth is that Qandahār was unavoidably necessary for Humāyūn as a base for his military operations and this compelled Humāyūn to capture the fort and violate the pledge which he had made with the Shāh. The conduct of the Persian troops of course annoyed the Mughuls and Humāyūn felt no hesitation, now that his men were gathering and he was outside the jurisdiction of the Shāh, to gain an important objective at the cost of uncertain friendship with one whose help and kindliness were diluted with gross insult and bitter contempt. This explains his conduct but does not acquit him of treachery.[1]

5. Did Humāyūn recover his ancestral territory with Persian help?

As regards the question how far Humāyūn was helped by the Persians in the recovery of his dominion, it cannot be disputed that Humāyūn accomplished this with his own followers by his own efforts and the efforts of his gallant nobles. Yet it must be confessed in fairness to the Shāh that Humāyūn was to a certain extent helped by the Persians. The capture of Bist and the easy march through Garmsīr were due to the Persian troops. And it was the Persians who took the fort of Qandahār from the hands of Mīrzā 'Askarī and Mīrzā Kāmrān. The first siege of Qandahār unnerved Kāmrān, humbled 'Askarī and encouraged people to join Humāyūn. It was only then that Humāyūn could take the fort from the hands of the Persians, many of whom had already left for home. It is doubtful if Humāyūn, unaided by the Iranians, would have been able to conquer Qandahār from 'Askarī and Kāmrān, strongly guarded as it was. It was the Persians who conquered Qandahār and Humāyūn won it more by diplomacy than by military force. Humāyūn's conquest of Qandahār was no military triumph but a successful *coup de main*. Qandahār was of great importance to Humāyūn during the next ten years while he was engaged in incessant struggles against Kāmrān and the Afghāns, as well as in campaigns in Badakhshān and Balkh. So far Humāyūn was helped by the Persians in the recovery of his dominion.[2]

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yūn's enemies as well as take from them Kābul, Ghaznī, Bakar and Sind. The *A.A.A.*, p. 76, says that it was the express order of the Shāh to the Persian officers and troops that they should not return unless they were given leave by Humāyūn.

[1] The author of the *Af.T.* condemns the capture of Qandahār by Humāyūn and regards it as an act of treachery: 'Five hundred Chaghatāis entered the fort and (thereby) acted contrary to laws and previous settlement without any regard for the kind treatment of the Shāh'—fol. 126b. Mr. Beveridge is more emphatic on this point: 'Unfortunately Tahmāsp got but an ill-requital for his kindness to Humāyūn. Bahrām Mirza's warning came true and Humāyūn kicked down the ladder as soon as he had mounted, just as Babar is said to have left the Persians in the lurch at the battle of Ghajdiwan', *Calcutta Review*, January, 1898, p. 188. Dr. Saksena seems to justify Humāyūn's conduct.—*Shāh Jahān*, p. 226.

[2] 'Humāyūn's stay in Persia . . . was the turning point of his fortunes. The assistance which Tahmāsp gave him in men and money enabled him to take Qandahar

6. The ultimate results of Humāyūn's exile in Īrān

Humāyūn acknowledged the great help he had received from the Shāh and after his return from Īrān he wrote to Shāh Ṭahmāsp several letters which show that Humāyūn regarded the Shāh as his ally. In one letter we find Humāyūn giving the Shāh details about Mīrzā Kāmrān and affairs in Badakhshān and Balkh and other incidents that had occurred since he left Īrān.[1] Shāh Ṭahmāsp also wrote to Humāyūn several letters while the latter was trying his fortune in Afghānistān.[2] In one of these letters the Shāh expresses his good wishes for Humāyūn and emphasizes on the friendship between him and the Mughul king.[3] Shāh Ṭahmāsp sent also ambassadors led by Walad Beg to Humāyūn congratulating him on his success at Kābul.[4] After the recovery of his dominion Humāyūn sent a messenger to the Shāh expressing good wishes and appreciation of Ṭahmāsp's kindness.[5] After the death of Humāyūn Shāh Ṭahmāsp wrote a letter to his son Akbar, expressing condolences for his death, and though they were unduly belated, the Shāh refers in that letter to the friendship and concord that existed between him and Humāyūn.[6] Humāyūn's stay in Persia not only established diplomatic relationship between the Safavid and Mughul courts, it also led to closer contact between India and Īrān and we find under Akbar, when the Mughul empire was consolidated, a general immigration of nobles and generals as well as men of arts and letters from Persia, which deeply moulded the Indo-Muslim civilization.[7] The exile of Humāyūn in Īrān, though humiliating and painful, was not altogether barren in its results.

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in 1545, and this was the foundation of his future successes, just as the conquest of Kabul had been in his father's case. The Persians, therefore, are entitled to share in the credit of the restoration of the Moghul Empire, and of the career thereby furnished to the great Akbar.'—Beveridge in the *Calcutta Review*, January, 1898, p. 187.

[1] Add. 7688, foll. 105 et seqq.

[2] *Af.T.*, fol. 162a; *F.Q.*, p. 344.

[3] *Af.T.*, foll. 161b–163b.

[4] *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 487, Add. 7688, fol. 105*a*.

[5] *Af.T.*, fol. 126b.

[6] Add. 7688, foll. 115b-116a.

[7] For the 'exodus of poets and scholars from Persia to India', vide M. A. Ghanī—*Persian Literature at the Mughal court*, vol. ii, pp. 149 et seqq. Vide also sections 1 and 3 of Ch. V of this work for the great painter Khwāja 'Abdu's-Ṣamad and Mullā Ḥairatī the poet who paid respects to Humāyūn in Īrān and afterwards came to the Mughul court in India. For the significance of Humāyūn's stay in Persia in the history of the Mughul School of painting, vide Binyon and Arnold.—*The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, pp. 15-16, and Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, pp. 52-53.

APPENDIX A

Humāyūn's letter to Shah Ṭahmāsp asking permission to enter Īrān and see the Shāh

This letter of Humāyūn to Shāh Ṭahmāsp, asking his permission to enter his territory and see him, occurs in several manuscripts. The earliest historical work, which gives the letter, is the *Tārīkh-i-Ilchī-i-Nizām Shāh*, composed in 970-71 A.H./1563-64 A.D. The author Khur Shāh bin Qubādu'l-Ḥusainī, was an envoy of Burhān Nizām Shāh I to Shāh Ṭahmāsp and arrived in Īrān only one year after Humāyūn left for Qandahār, and remained at the court of the Shāh for a long time.[1] The next earliest work, which reproduces the letter, is the *Khulāṣa-i-Maqāl*, composed during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II (1642–1667 A.D.). Its author, Muḥammad Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad Yūsuf Qazwīnī, was a court officer of Shāh 'Abbās II. The next work to contain the letter is the *'Ināyat-nāma*, composed in 1750 A.D. by 'Ināyat Khān Rāsikh. It is a collection of letters written by the Mughul emperors to important persons. The letter also occurs in another collection of letters, British Museum Add. MS. 7688. It occurs in the *Fawā'id-i-Ṣafavīya* which is an eighteenth century work on the Ṣafavī dynasty. We also find it in the Faiyyāẓu'l-qawānīn, which is a collection of letters compiled by Nawāb 'Alī Ḥusain Khān of Lucknow. The letter is also in the *Duraru'l-manṣūr*, compiled in 1816 A.D. by Muḥammad 'Askarī Bilgrāmī. It appears in some manuscripts of the *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamārāi 'Abbāsī* as well.[2]

It should be noted that Sir Jadunāth Sarkār's manuscript of Jauhar gives the letter of Humāyūn to Shāh Ṭahmāsp. Stewart does not give it in his translation. It does not occur in the India Office manuscript of Jauhar which is a very old copy and which simply refers that Humāyūn wrote a letter. It gives the verses of Khwāja Salmān which Humāyūn quoted in his letter.[3] This on the whole agrees with the version of Stewart, which is as follows: "A letter was in consequence written, and sent, the contents of which were, 'We are arrived in your country, and await your royal orders': the remainder of the letter was in verse, and replete with compliments".[4] Stewart based his translation on the British Museum MS. Add. 16, 711 and it seems therefore that the letter is not in it.[5] The letter most probably did not occur in the MS. which Erskine consulted, for in that case he would have referred to it. The *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn*

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[1] *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, fol. 60a; Rieu, vol. i, p. 107.

[2] I have consulted eight MSS. of the work, but the letter appears only in two—Nos. 90 and 91 (R.A.S.B.).

[3] I.O.MS. of Jauhar, fol. 26a. It was copied in the time of Aurangzīb.

[4] Stewart, p. 80.

[5] I ordered for photostats from this MS. in August, 1939, but the British Museum was closed on account of the outbreak of the war in September.

S̲h̲āhī of S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Ilāhdād Faiẓī Sirhindī, which is a recension of the *Tażkirat-al-Wāqi'āt*, also does not give the letter but simply mentions the fact that a letter was sent and gives the verses from K̲h̲wāja Salmān which are in the India Office MS. of Jauhar.[1] It seems therefore probable that Jauhar did not give the letter in his *Tażkirat-al-Wāqi'āt*, but in later times it was added and embodied in his work as in the 'Alīgarh University MS., from which Sir Jadunāth's is copied. The Punjāb University MS. of Jauhar, which was copied in the thirteenth century A.H. (1287/1871), also reproduces the letter.

The Tārīk̲h̲-i-Ilc̲h̲ī-i-Niẓām S̲h̲āh gives the date of the letter as 7 S̲h̲awwāl, 950/3 January, 1544, and it says that Humāyūn wrote the letter from Sind and it was after he had received a reply from the S̲h̲āh and his messenger had returned, that he left Sind for Īrān.[2] This appears to be incorrect as Humāyūn had left Sind long before 7 S̲h̲awwāl when he was about to enter Sīstān. In the body of the letter Humāyūn of course writes that he has reached Sind. It may be that the letter was written in Sind and despatched afterwards from Garmsīr or Sīstān. It may be also that Humāyūn did not like to let the S̲h̲āh know that he had advanced near the Persian boundary and was to enter his dominion without actually obtaining his consent. It seems therefore that Humāyūn thought of going to Īrān even while he was in Sind but did not send the letter because he wanted to try his fortune at Qandahār. According to Jauhar Humāyūn wrote the letter at Sīstān and sent it from there in accordance with the advice of Bairām Beg and other nobles.[3] From the *K̲h̲ulāṣa-i-Maqāl* it appears that Humāyūn wrote the letter at Sīstān and despatched it from there or at least immediately after he had entered the Persian territory.[4] Abu'l-Faẓl says that the letter was sent on 1 S̲h̲awwāl, 950/28 December, 1543, through C̲h̲ūlī Bahādur from Garmsīr.[5] The *'Ināyat-nāma* and the *Duraru'l-Manṣūr* do not mention the date when and the particular place from which the letter was despatched. The other historians, who refer to the letter, follow either Jauhar or Abu'l-Faẓl.

The letter, as given in the above nine works, differs in some words from one another but they do not affect the sense. I have adopted the reading which appeared to me to be the best. The English translation of the letter has been inserted in the book in its proper place.

بعد از ادای وظیفهٔ [6] دعا و اخلاص بیریا [7] که شیوهٔ مرضیهٔ خاص

اصحاب [8] اختصاص است مشهود باد [9] (که) باوجود قلّت بندگی و کثرت

[1] Faiẓī Sirhindī, fol. 51b.

[2] *T.I.N.S.*, Or. 153, foll. 57b–58a, Add. 23,513, fol. 426a.

[3] *T.W.*, Sir Jadunāth Sarkār's MS., pp. 109-10; P.U.MS., fol. 49b.

[4] *K.M.*, fol. 123a. [5] *A.N.*, vol. i, p. 414. [6] *K.M.* omits the word.

[7] Only *T.W.* and *F.S.* (R.A.S.B.MS.) have اخلاص بیریا.

[8] *F.Q.* omits the word. [9] Only *T.W.* has مشهود باد.

شرمندگی خود را ذرّه مثال در نظر مهر سپهر حشمت و اجلال حضرت شاهی
ظلّ الهی[1] که مظهر آگاهی و مظهر اوصاف کماهی الهی است[2] درآورده
نموده می‌آید که اگرچه جهراً[3] خود را در زمرهٔ[4] خدّام عالیمقام انتظام
نداده بود امّا سرّاً[5] ربقهٔ محبّت و اخلاص به رقبهٔ قلب چون رصاص همیشه
متعلّق ساخته خاطر[6] بسوی بیسوی[7] حضور موفور السّرور فایض النور
آن حضرت که موجب وصول و حصول انواع سعادات و کرامات است
میکشید و هر لحظه از توجّه توجیه وجه شریف شهد لطف میچشید[8]
تا آن که از ممرّ دور دهر دون و از گردش چرخ بوقلمون واژگون از فضای
سواد اعظم هند به تنگنای بی‌هوای[9] اظلم سند رسیده شد.

بگذشت بر[10] سر ما آنچه گذشت چه بدریا و چه کهسار و چه دشت

اکنون طایر آرزو از بهر مشاهدهٔ جمال نیّر عظمت و اجلال بال اقبال میکشاید
امّید از رحمت حضرت الهی آن است که بعد از دریافت دولت دریا نوال

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1 *T.I.N.S.*, *T.W.*, *F.S.* omit ظلّ الهی.

2 The words from که مظهر to الهی است occur in *K.M.*; *T.W.* and *F.S.* have مظهر آگاهی و مظهر کمال اوصاف کمال است; *T.I.N.S.* has مظهر آگاهی کمال اوصاف کمال است; *D.M.*, *I.N.*, *A.A.A.* MSS. 90, 91, have مظهر آگاهی و مظهر کماهی اوصاف کمال است; *F.Q.* and Add. 7688 have مظهر آگاهی و مظهر کماهی اوصاف کمال است.

3 *T.I.N.S.*, *T.W.* and *F.S.* have چهرهٔ خود را; Add. 7688 has قهراً.

4 *F.Q.*, *A.A.A.* (lithographed ed.) have در جملهٔ; *K.M.* has در سلسله; *I.N.*, *D.M.*, Add. 7688, *A.A.A.* (MS. 91) have از جملهٔ; *T.I.N.S.*, *T.W.*, *F.S.* have در زمرهٔ.

5 *T.I.N.S.*, *T.W.*, *F.S.* omit سرّاً.

6 *T.I.N.S.*, *T.W.*, *F.S.* have خاطر; *I.N.* has رو; *D.M.* has روی; *A.A.A.*, *K.M.*, *F.Q.*, Add. 7688 have neither.

7 *A.A.A.*, *D.M.*, *I.N.*, Add. 7688 have بیسوی; *F.Q.* has بسوی ولی سرّی; *T.I.N.S.*, *T.W.*, *F.S.* omit these two words.

8 *F.Q.*, Add. 7688 have the above words from هر لحظه ...... میچشید; *A.A.A.* has the same except that it has لطیف for لطف; *I.N.*, *D.M.* have the above words except توجیه; *T.I.N.S.*, *T.W.*, *F.S.* have the following: از توجه بآن جهة بوجه موجه شریف و بهدیه لطیف جهة میجسته.

9 Only *T.I.N.S.*, *T.W.*, *F.Q.* have بی‌هوای after تنگنای.

10 Only *T.I.N.S.*, *T.W.*, *F.S.* have بر; other MSS. have از; *F.Q.* has کنون before از.

که موجب وصول [1] بسی از مرادات است مقالات و حالات ساخته و پرداخته آنچه قابل عرض باشد معروض خواهد شد انشاء الله تعالی [2] -

خسروا [3] عمری ست تا عنقای عالی همتم
قلهٔ قاف قناعت را نشیمن کرده است
روزگار سفلهٔ گندم نما و جو فروش
طوطئ طبع مرا قانع بارزن کرده است
دشمنم شیر ست و عمری پشت با من کرده بود
این زمان از ناحفاظی روی با من کرده است [4]
التماسی این ز شه دارم که با من آن کند
آنچه با سلمان [5] علی در دشت ارژن کرده است [6]

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[1] Only *A.A.A.* (R.A.S.B. MS. 91) has وصول ; all other works have وجود which does not yield proper meaning.

[2] The paragraph from اکنون to خواهد شد is based on *T.I.N.S.*, *T.W.* and *F.S.* This concluding portion is greatly different in other works. *I.N.*, *F.Q.*, *D.M.*, Add. 7688 and *A.A.A.* have the following with minor differences:

اکنون که مجاهد بال بیبال اقبال از بهر مشاهدهٔ جمال نیّر عظمت و اجلال در طیران است امید از حضرت رحمان آن است که بعد از دریافت دولت ملاقات که موجب وجود بسی از مرادات است مقالات و حالات سانحه آنچه قابل عرض باشد معروض شود انشاء الله تعالی ٭

[3] *T.W.* says قطعهٔ همایون بادشاه که از موزونی طبع خود فرمود این است, Sir J. N. Sarkār's MS. p. 111, P.U.MS. fol. 50a; *I.N.* says این قطعهٔ خواجه سلمان را حضرت جنّت آشیانی فردوس مکانی در نامه درج نمودند. *D.M.* also says that Humāyūn quoted the lines of the poet Salmān و الحق قطعهٔ سلمان ساوجی را چه بموقع و بجا درین رقعه ثبت کرده. The *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh*, fol. 121b, has این چند بیت که از زادهٔ طبع همایونی است در آن (نامه) مندرج بود. Khwāja Salmān Sāwajī was a reputed poet who flourished in the fourteenth century A.D. Vide Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 260.

[4] *I.N.* and *D.M.* have the above line. *T.W.* (Sir J. N. Sarkār's MS.) has این دم از روی عداوت روی با من کرده است ; I.O.MS. of Jauhar and Faiẓī Sirhindī have حال از کین و عداوت روی با من کرده است اینک از کین و عداوت روی با من کرده است; the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* has روی بر من کرده است.

[5] Vide Ranking, Badāūnī, vol. i, p. 572, n. 1.

[6] The verses are given in *T.W.*, *I.N.*, *F.S.*, *D.M.* and also in Faiẓī Sirhindī and the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh*. Badāūnī quotes the last two lines, vol. i, p. 445.

APPENDIX B

THE REPLY OF SHĀH ṬAHMĀSP TO HUMĀYŪN'S LETTER ASKING PERMISSION TO ENTER HIS TERRITORY AND SEE HIM

The reply of the Shāh is given in two works, the *'Ināyat-nāma* and the *Duraru'l-Manṣūr*. The English translation of the letter appears in the book in its proper place.

جواب باصواب شاه طهماسپ به کتاب همایون پادشاه که وقت توجّه
ایران فرستاده بود کتاب کریم و خطاب لازم التعظیم که عالیجناب سلطنت
مرتبت معالی منزلت شوکت قباب نصفت و معدلت مآب [1] پادشاه عالیجاه والا
دستگاه افضله [2] الله تعالی شانه فرستاده بود در ضمن آن مجملاً اشعار بهر گونه
حوادث که از هر جهت بسلسلهٔ ایشان راه یافته بود رسید و بانواع تعظیم
و تبجیل مقابل و مقرون شد چون از روی اخلاص و ارادت و اعتقاد و غایت
رسوخ مصادقت و اعتماد روی توجّه بدینصوب آوردند و اقتدا بسنت سنیّهٔ
والا سلطنت و حشمت پناه رضوان دستگاه خود نموده حصول امانی و آمال
در ضمن متابعت و موافقت این سلسلهٔ علیّه ملاحظه فرموده بی‌شایبهٔ شک
و ریب بامداد بواطن قدسی مواطن حضرت ایمّه معصومین علیهم الصّلوة
و السّلام و توجّه نوّاب کامیاب همایون ما تلافی و تدارک قصور و فتور
که درین اوقات بسرکار آن سلطنت و حشمت دستگاه راه یافته خواهد شد
و بر جمیع مطالب و مقاصد خود با حسن وجه فیروز و کامیاب خواهند بود
حالا انتظار مقدم شریف میرود و اشتیاق بدریافت ملاقات [3] گرامی نهایت
ندارد صلاح دولت جانبین و مقتضای مصلحت مابین آنکه در توجّه بدینصوب
صواب انجام مسارعت فرمایند [4] و بزودی تشریف آورند که بعد از شرف تلاقی

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1 *I.N.* has آیات.

2 The MSS. read as above but the correct Arabic may be افضل علیه.

3 *D.M.* has مواصلت.

4 *I.N.* has نمایند.

آنچه رای صواب‌نمای تقاضا نماید عمل خواهد رفت ظلال سلطنت و اجلال دولت

و اقبال ممدود و مبسوط باد [1] *

APPENDIX C

The letter of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to Muḥammad Khān, Governor of Herāt, giving instructions for the reception of Humāyūn

The letter of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to Muḥammad Khān, governor of Herāt, regarding the reception of Humāyūn, is of great importance. It reflects the magnificence and grandeur of the Safavid kingdom and the studied display with which Humāyūn was received in Īrān. Though the letter is addressed to the governor of Herāt, the instructions therein were meant for the governors of other places and copies were accordingly despatched to them. There is a copy of a similar letter of instruction of the Shāh to the governor of Sīstān at the British Museum (Sloane MS. 4093). The present letter occurs in several works. Bāyazīd is the earliest writer to give it and Abu'l-Fazl also reproduces the letter, probably drawing upon Bāyazīd. Bāyazīd says that Mīr Mirdād Juvīnī, *dārōgha* of the records, produced the *farmān* on 20 Rajab, 1000 A.H./1592 A.D. and he made an exact copy of it. From the marginal-note in the *farmān* in the *Mukhtaṣar*, we are informed that a copy of the document was taken for the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*. Mr. Beveridge could not find it in the British Museum copy of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* (Or. 465) and I also could not find it there. I have also consulted the India Office MS. of the *Tārikh-i-Alfī* (No. 3293), but the letter is not in it. However, the letter occurs in several works—the *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī*, the *Iqbāl-nāma*, the *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Aḥmadī*, the Būhār MS. No. 45, the India Office MS. No. 224, the Bodleian MS. No. 112, the *Tażkiratu's-Salāṭīn-i-Chaghtāia*, the *Faiyyāẓu'l-qawānīn* and the *Duraru'l-Manṣūr*. All these works, however, merely copy from the *Akbar-nāma*. Of the chronicles written from the Safavid point of view, the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* alone gives the letter. The letter in the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh*, on the whole,

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[1] According to Jauhar, the Shāh inserted two lines in his own hand at the top of the letter:

این بیت بر عنوان صحیفهٔ شاه عالمپناه بدستخط خاص مرقوم بود ـ ٭ بیت ٭

مشکین نفس غالیه آمیز سحرگاه   مکتوب تو آورد صبا سلّمه الله

و از نهایت محبّت این بیت دربین صحیفه بود ـ ٭ بیت ٭

همای اوج سعادت بدام ما افتد   اگر ترا گذری بر مقام ما افتد

T.W. (Sir J. N. Sarkār's MS.), p. 112, P.U.MS. fol. 50b; I.O.MS. fol. 26a.

The last two lines are also given in the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh*, fol. 121b, and the *Akbar-nāma*, text, vol. i, p. 206. But we learn from Add. MS. 7688, fol. 105a, that Shāh Ṭahmāsp quoted these two lines in his reply to Humāyūn's letter, asking permission to visit Mashhad.

resembles that in Bāyazīd and Abu'l-Faẓl or other Indian chronicles and collections of letters, but still it is a different document. The *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* is a detailed history of Shāh Ṭahmāsp written in Persian from the Persian point of view and as such the letter appearing in it cannot be regarded as less authentic than the document given by Bāyazīd and Abu'l-Faẓl. The *farmān* in Bāyazīd and Abu'l-Faẓl is longer and written in more ornamented style than that in the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh*. Abu'l-Faẓl's copy has been published and translated. The letter in the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* is given below :

نقل فرمان والا به محمد خان تکلو در باب مهمانی همایون بادشاه

حکم جهان مطاع شد آنکه ایالت و شوکت پناه عالیجاه شمس الایالة
و الشوکة و الاقبال محمد خان شرف الدین اغلی تکلو بگلربیگی خراسان و لله
شاهزاده اقبالمند نوجوان سلطان محمد میرزا بعنایت بیغایت شاهانه و مراحم
بی‌نهایت بادشاهانه عز امتیاز یافته بداند که مضمون عرضه‌داشت او که
درینولا مصحوب حسن بیگ تکلو ارسال داشته بود بتاریخ سه‌شنبه
پنجم شهر شوال سنه ۹۵۰ به مسامع عز و جلال رسید - شرح که در باب
توجه نواب مستطاب گردون جناب سپهر رکاب آفتاب عالمتاب اوج خلافت
و کامگاری اختر شرف آسمان سلطنت و بختیاری بادشاه جمجاه ستاره سپاه
سلطان السلاطین و اعظم الخواقین شاه بن شاه شهنشاه نزاد - *ع*

آنکه می‌زیبد اگر جان جهانش خوانی

معز السلطنة و الخلافة و الدولة محمد همایون بادشاه بدین جانب نوشته بودند
خاطر نشان گشت و باعث ازدیاد ابتهاج گردید و در همان روز این
فرمان عالیشان شرف نفاذ یافت - می‌باید که چون بر مضمون حکم جهان مطاع
اطلاع حاصل نماید هرچه در این فرمان مذکور گردیده در محل خود بعمل آورد
اول آنکه چون از حوالی نیمروز و سیجستان متوجه هرات شوند سواد فرمان
را نزد حکام آنجا فرستند که آنچه کمال خدمت و ملازمت باشد نسبت نواب
مشارالیه بجائ آورند و تقصیر در خدمت نکنند که مستوجب عتاب و خطاب
خواهند گردید و حکام ولایات مذکوره هر یک نه راس اسپ بدو لائق که
پسندیده باشد بعد ازین به مجلسی که ضیافت نمایند پیشکش کنند
و تا در آن ولایات باشند مایحتاج و ضروریات ایشان را فراوان داده هر یک

از امرا سه زوج قالی دوازده ذرعی و نه طاق مخمل ابریشمی و دوازده نمد تکیه
کورک اعلی پیشکش نمایند و آنچنان ملازمت و خدمت نمایند که اگر فی المثل
نواب کامیاب اشرف اقدس همایون ما در آن صوب نزول اجلال داشته باشیم
و ایشان کمال جانسپاری در خدمت بجائ آورند بهمان دستور بلکه زیاده از آن
لوازم خدمت و ملازمت بتقدیم رسانند و چون نواب جمجاه بحوالی هرات رسند
آن ایالت پناه دوازده قطار اشتر مربّا و حلوا و نقلات مصحوب ولد خود
خلف الامرا العظام تاتار بیگ و ده نفر از آقایان عظام معتبر خود با نه راس
اسپ بدو اعلی که جل و پیراهن مخمل و سقرلاط و تنگ و قاسق ماغی[1]
ابریشمی الوان داشته باشد فرستاده یکی از وزرائ کاروان که پسند خاطر
حضرت اعلی باشد و پانصد نفر از ملازمان خوب خود همراه تاتار بیگ نمایند
و چنان مقرر دارند که در کل ولایات خراسان که نواب جمجاه وارد خواهند شد
روز بروز آنچه سائح شود از طرح و وضع و احوال و روش مردم آن عالیجاه
نوشته بفرستند و روز نامچه درست داشته به تفصیل بنویسند که در هر منزل
و هر روز چه واقع می‌شود و هر یک از امرائ عظام در هر ولایت چه خدمت
بجائ می‌آورند و آن وزیر تا رسانیدن نواب جهانبانی کشورستانی به پایه
سریر خلافت مصر سلیمانی همراه خود خواهد بود که روز نامچه خود را بعرض
اشرف رساند و خلعت لائق و انعام موافق خدمت خود از درگاه معلی ستانده
مراجعت نماید و چنان مقرر دارد که از روزی که ولد او به نواب ستاره سپاه
ملاقات می‌نماید هر روز کس ایشان نزد آن ایالت پناه می‌آمده باشد و کس
آن عدالت دستگاه نزد ایشان می‌رفته باشد و ضروریات و خرجی می‌فرستاده باشند
دو روز بعد از رفتن تاتار بیگ دویست ثوب قبائ مخمل الوان و چهار صد
ثوب قبائ اطلس و کمخاب مهیا نموده روانه گرداند و آنچه از حاصل قریه
مدیرک تا حال نبر شده باشد تمامی را سیع نموده صرف ضروریات نماید و معلوم
آن ایالت پناه باشد که در قرنها این نوع امری واقع می‌شود که این طور
بادشاه عظیم الشانی از سلسلهٔ بادشاه مرحوم و مغفور فردوس مکان علیین آشیان
امیر تیمور گورگان بحسب روزگار غدار از دار القرار خود بیرون آمده توجه

[1] These two words are reproduced as they appear in the MS. but the meaning is not clear.

بجانب دیگر نماید هر نوع خدمت و همراهی که نسبت بایشان واقع شود
بر صحائف ایام خواهد ماند چون درین محل فنا قرار هیچکس نبوده و نخواهد بود
احسن اعمال خیر مآل ملازمت آن بادشاه جمجاه بی‌همال خواهد بود - لله الحمد
که صعب این نوع صورتی از پردهٔ غیب بظهور می‌آید مثل آن ایالت پناه
امیری در آن سرحد واقع است که بر صفحه ضمیر اشرف آنچه آن ایالت پناه کند
پرتو می‌اندازد و مرضی طبع اشرف خواهد بود می‌باید که آن شوکت دستگاه
به هیچ چیز مفکر و معطل نشود و از محال خاصه شریفه دار السلطنت هرات
و باقی ولایات خراسان هرچه او را ضرورت شود قبض بوزارت و اقبال پناه
اصفی خواجه امیر بیگ وزیر خراسان داده اخذ اجناس و نقود نماید و چون
نواب مقدس القاب به بیست فرسخ دار السلطنت هرات رسد امارت پناه
کمال الدین جعفر سلطان تکلو را در خدمت فرزند اعز ارجمند ارشد سعادت
پیوند ابو الغالب سلطان محمد میرزا ابقاه الله تعالی گذاشته خاطر از حدود سبل
و طرق جمع نماید و خود باستقبال آن بادشاه عالیجاه با هزار سوار خوب از
ملازمان خود که مجموع مقطع و آراسته و زیکی باشند عازم شده در وقت ملازمت
که تخمیناً هزار ذرع بلکه دورتر مسافت باشد پیاده شود و اگر حضرت بادشاه
جمجاه بخلق عظیم خواهند که پیاده شوند بالتماس و استدعا نگذارند که
پیاده شوند و آداب خدمت آنچنان بجائ آورند که مزیدی بر آن متصور نباشد
و پائ نواب جمجاه را در رکاب بلب ادب بوسند و آنچه شرائط خدمت و بندگی
باشد ظاهر سازند و همین روز چون در یورت نزول فرمایند چهل و پنج
راس اسپ بدو اعلی که تمامی پسندیده طبع آن ایالت پناه باشد پیشکش نمایند
و پنج قطار شتر برگ مایه در همین روز پیشکش نمایند و از دیگ برگ
و قالی و خیمه و یراق فراشخانه و ضروریات کارخانجات آنچه لائق داند بگذارند
که در اردوی ایشان صفائ پیدا شود و تا روزی که اتفاق دار السلطنت هرات
ایشان را واقع می‌شود در هر منزل که نزول ایشان واقع شود روز پیش اسباب
مطبخ و طعام چنانکه اصلا تنگی و عسرت نباشد و موافق سلیقهٔ آن آیالت پناه
باشد سر براه نموده چنان قرار دهند که چون در منزل نزول فرمایند طعام مهیا

نمایند و ماحضر از مربّا و حلوا بکشند و هرگاه نواب باستراحت مشغول شوند
طعام فراوان و شیلان بی‌پایان سر براه کرده بعد از آنکه امر شود بکشند ـ
همچنین در خدمت و جانسپاری نهایت سعی و کوشش بجائ آورند که
هرچند از آن ایالت پناه و امرای عظام درین باب مساعی جمیله پسندیده
بظهور آید موافق طبع و مطلوب خاطر فیض ماثر خواهد بود دیگر چون بحوالی
دار السلطنت هرات رسند سیر باغات و عمارات فرموده هر جا که خاطر اشرف
قرار یابد رحل اقامت انداخته رکابخانه و شربتخانه و مطبخ و یراق مطبخ بدستور
سرکار خاصه شریفه که آن شوکت دثار مکرراً ترتیب نموده مرتب دارد
و در هر باغی که یورت تعیّن کند مهمانی نموده چنین مقرر دارد که هیچ
مهمانی نگذرد که سه اسپ پیشکش نشود ـ و فرزند اعز ارشد در روز دخول
دار السلطنت هرات تا پُل مالان استقبال نموده در حین ملاقات آن ایالت پناه
پیشتر رفته از جانب شاهزاده اقبالمند التماس نمایند که چون شاهزاده از اسپ
پیاده شود ایشان که بمنزله پدر و عم اند پیاده نشده بعد از دریافت دست بوس
آن وارث تخت گورگان رخصت سواری یافته شاهزاده را سوار نمایند و از جانب
حضرت اعلی تهنیت ورود مقدم ایشان گفته خاطر گرفته ایشانرا بمهربانی
نواب همایون ما شگفته دارند و مختصر ملک ایران را پیشکش و پائ انداز
آن گوهر اکلیل خلافت نمایند و چون فرزند اقبالمند رخصت سواری یابد سر اسپ
شاهزاده برابر رکاب اسپ نواب جمجاه میرفته باشد و سر اسپ آن ایالت پناه
برابر رکاب اسپ شاهزاده و خبردار باشد که اگر وارث تخت گورگانی سوالی
از شاهزاده نمایند و فرزند سعادتمند جهت صغر سن و حجاب جواب موافق
نتواند گفت آن ایالت پناه درمقام جواب درآمده عذرخواهی از جانب شاهزاده
نمایند و در باغ جهان‌آرا خیمه و خرگاه تازه از سرکار فرزند اقبالمند نصب نموده
از قالیهائ کرمانی و نمد تکیه‌هائ کرمانی و کبه فرنگ و مایحتاج آن فرش نمایند
و در آن روز سه هزار لنگری طعام مقرر دارند که بعد از صرف حاضری و نقلات
بمجلس کشیده شود و سه وفور اسپ بدو اعلی با چند پارچه طلادوز برند که
کمتر به نظر ایشان رسیده و سه وفور قطار شتر نر و مایه جوان که آن ایالت پناه

خود از طویله فرزند سعادتمند اسپ و از شترخانه ایشان شتر انتخاب نمایند
و آنچه از نفائس این ملک مثل اقمشه اعلی و غلامان ترک دانا در سرکار
فرزند سعادتمند و آن ایالت پناه و امرا باشد که لیاقت گذرانیدن از نظر
آن بادشاه ستاره سپاه داشته باشند داخل پیشکش فرزند سعادت پیوند نموده
در روز سهمانی ایشان بگذرانند و جمیع سازندگان و گویندگان و نوازندگان
که در مجلس آن فرزند اقبالمند و شهر هرات باشند مجموع را مقطع بمجلس
درآورده سوکلی جهت ایشان تعین نمایند که از افت و انداز ایشان که مجلس
این قسم بادشاه عظیم الشانی ندیده اند خبردار باشد و هرگاه اشاره فرمایند
به نغمه و نوا زنگ زدای خاطر گرفته بادشاه مظفر لوا که بخت بلند ایران
و ایرانیان و همایون آن شاهباز اوج و رفعناه مکانا علیا بدینولایت گشته گردند ۔
بعد از صرف ضیافت فرزند اقبالمند و گذشتن پیشکش او و از نظر نواب همایون اعلی
آنچه از مصالح کارخانجات از شهر بیرون برده باشند با بار بردار و خدمتگار
بملازمان ایشان سپرده پیشکش نمایند و فرزند اقبالمند را مرخص ساخته
به قلعه هرات آورند و خود خیمه در بیرون شهر زده یکدم از خدمت آن اختر
نیر آسمان اقبال غافل نباشند و همچنین امرائ عظام ذوی الاحترام تا بین
آن ایالت پناه علحده ۔ بعد از سیر حضرت پادشاه شهر هرات را که روز سیم
در شهر سهمان فرزند اقبالمند باشند و نه اسپ با چند پارچه حلی و مرصع آلات
و بعضی نفائس نیز در آن روز گذارند و سیر عمارات بادشاه صاحب همت و ذکا
مرحوم سلطان حسن میرزا بایقرا و گازرگاه فرمایند ۔ مقرر دارند که امرا
در خانه خود سهمانی نواب کامیاب سپهر رکاب نمایند بدین عنوان که طعام
و حلاوه و اشربه و مربیات و نقلات در حضور آن معدلت دستگاه قرار یابد
و اسپ و شتر و دارای و مخمل و قالی و نمد تکیه و قالیچه ابریشمی از هر جنس
که آن امیر معظم لائق داند جهت پیشکش مقرر دارد که بعمل آورند
و فرزند اعز کامگار را به مجلس برده نمد هشت تهی جهت نواب مقدس القاب
کشورستانی و چهار ته جهت فرزند اقبالمند اندازند که هر یک بر نمد علحده
نشینند و امرا در روز سهمانی خود سه راس و پنج راس اسپ با دیگر نفائس

پیشکش نمایند و هرگاه میل توجه اینجانب داشته باشد یراق بیوتات سرکار ایشانرا تا مشهد مقدس معلی سر براه نمایند و هزار تومان نقد و پانصد قبائ دارای و کمخاب و اطلس و دویست پنجاه ثوب مخمل الوان و یکصد طاقی مخمل یکرنگ و دویست قد دارای و اطلس و کمخاب ترتیب نمایند که روز سواری ایشان پیشکش نمایند و فرزند اقبالمند را به مشایعت ایشان یک منزل از شهر بیرون آورده سه فرسخ در خدمت ایشان مشایعت نمایند - فرزند سعادتمند وداع نموده معاودت فرمایند و آن ایالت پناه خود با لشکر آراسته چهار منزل رفاقت نموده بعد ازان مرخص گردند و اگر بادشاه بحر همت خلعتی بایشان عنایت نماید پوشیده شرف روزگار خود دانند و از ورود حکم اشرف روز بروز حقیقت را عرضه‌داشت پایهٔ سریر خلافت مصر گرداند و قراولان جهت ضبط شوارع و محافظت اردوی ایشان قرار داده خود مراجعت نمایند - دیگر فرامین مطاعه بامرائ اطراف خواهد رفت که هر یک که دستور خدمات بظهور رساند می‌باید که از اول تا آخر ده هزار تومان صرف سرکار نواب کامیاب سپهر رکاب نماید و پروانه فرزند ارجمند کامگار بامرائ ممالک خراسان نوشته با سواد همین فرمان واجب الاذعان روانه سازد که ایشان هم بر مضمون فرمان عالیشان مطلع گردند و اسباب مهمانی و پیشکشی را که لائق نواب همایون باشد سر براه نمایند و هر جا بشوارعی که نزدیک باشد حاضر گردند و ضیافت مناسب که پسند خاطر آن زیب ده اورنگ گورگانی باشد نموده پیشکش لائق مناسب که اسپ بدو اعلی و شتر مایه باشد بکشند - وزرا و کلانتران دار السلطنة هرات و باقی محال را فرداً فرداً بدستوری که لائق و مناسب رسوم و منافع و حال ایشان باشد مقرر دارد که پیشکش خوب نمایند و قدغن کنند که کلانتران آن وجه را که صرف مهمانی و پیشکش نواب کشورستانی نمایند بالکا توجیه نکنند و از رغبت و تبریک ریزه چیزی باز یافت ننمایند و اگر از کسی درین مقدمه خلاف واقع شود در روز عرضه‌داشت بپایه سریر خلافت مصر گرداند و در رعایت خاطر رعایا و محافظت قلعه دار السلطنت هرات مساعی جمیله بظهور رساند و در هر باب قدغن دانسته تخلف نورزد *

APPENDIX D

Humāyūn's letter to Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Īrān asking permission to visit Mashhad

This letter of Humāyūn, asking permission of the Shāh to visit Mashhad, is of importance as it shows the Shiite proclivities of Humāyūn and how he was showing them in order to please his royal host. It appears in the British Museum MS. Add. 7688. The English translation of the letter has been given in the book in connection with Humāyūn's visit to Mashhad. The letter is written in a highly ornamented style and full of Arabic quotations.

دوام ملک و بقائ قدیم ما را نیست   خدائ را ست بقائ قدیم و ملک دوام

بعد از تمهید اخلاص و قواعد اختصاص تصویر ضمیر منیر که مرآت
صور غیب و عکس پذیر نقوش لاریب است می‌گرداند که چون از روز ازل
خاک وجود این محب را به آب محبت آل طهارت مآب نبوی و اولاد امجاد
عترت مصطفوی و ائمه معصومین سرشته بودند و به برکت و معاونت آنحضرت
چند روزی از دیوان بارگاه حضرت اله جَلَّ جَلَالُهُ و عَمَّ نَوَالُهُ منشیان قضا و قدر
منشور فائض السرور تُعِزُّ مَنْ تَشَآءُ بنام این مستهام رقم زده بودند و مهردار
قُلِ اللّٰهُمَّ مَالِكَ الْمُلْكِ آن را موشح بتوقیع رفیع تُؤْتِی الْمُلْكَ مَنْ تَشَآءُ ساخته
بقدر وسع و طاقت در اعلاء اعلام دین و امضائ احکام شرع سید المرسلین
کمال سعی و اهتمام بجا آورد در آن رضا هیچ حسرتی و نگرانی بخاطر این محب جانی
و دوست جاودانی نمانده بود و هر آرزو که در قوت مخیّله و تصور بشری
مرتسم بود از فوائد احسان حضرت منان بی‌منت مخلوق میسر شده بود سوائ
آنکه بسعادت عظمی و مرتبت کبری طواف ملک مطاف حضرت ائمه معصومین
خصوصاً مشهد مقدس روضه رضویه بود از فوائد منوره سدره مرتبه حضرت
سلطان الجن و الانس ـ   * بیت *

آنکه خاک پائ او در دیدهٔ ما توتیاه ست
آنکه در دنیا و دین ما را امام و رهنما ست

یعنی امام غریب‌نواز سلطان ابو الحسن علی بن موسی الرضا عَلَیْهِ اَلْفُ تَحیَّةٌ وَّ ثَنَاء مشرف نگشته و همه وقت در صبح و شام بلکه علی الدوام از حضرت ملک علام از روئ خضوع و خشوع تمام اسباب حصول این سعادت را مسئلت می‌نمود تا آنکه اثر دعائ بی‌ریائ این داعی بظهور رسیده نسیم عاطفت بمشام جان ساکنان بیت الاحزان مهاجرت و حرمان رسیده بمقتضائ وَ لَنْ تَجِدَ لِسُنَّةِ اللهِ تَبْدِیْلاً و هاتف غیبی و داعی لاریبی دست بر حلقهٔ در حضرت امام عَلَیْهِ التَّحِیَّةُ وَ السَّلَامُ ۔

* بیت *

عرشست نشیمن تو شرمت بادا کائ و مقیم خطهٔ خاک شوی

چون این ندا از عالم بالا بگوش هوش رسید چون صبح صادق دم از کمال ارادت و نهایت خلوص طویت و حسن عقیدت صفحهٔ مرآت باطن را از نقوش کثرت وهم پاک ساخته از راه اخلاص متوجه گردید فامّا باوجود این حال منتظر صدور و ظهور رخصت و اجازت آن حضرت که فی الحقیقت عین رخصت است و کمال اجازت بطوف زیارت بیت الحرام یعنی مشهد مقدس امام عَلَیْهِ التَّحِیَّةُ وَ السَّلَامُ می‌بود تا آنکه کتاب مستطاب کَالْوَحْیِ النَّازِلِ مِنَ السَّمَاء وَ هُوَ کِتَابٌ مَرْقُومٌ یَشْهَدُهُ الْمُقَرَّبُوْنَ و صُحُفٌ مُکَرَّمَةٌ مَرْفُوْعَةٌ مُطَهَّرَةٌ بِاَیْدِیْ[1] سَفَرَةٍ کِرَامٍ بَرَرَةٍ مشتمل بر برکات مسرت آیات از سکّان درگاه حضرت ظل اللّه برین محب بی‌اشتباه منتظر الاشارات مشعر بدریافت ملاقات شرف ورود یافت و زبان بدین مقال که ۔

* بیت *

زهی سلام تو آسائش سکینهٔ روح زهی کلام تو مفتاح گنجهائ فتوح

با قوافل امید احرام لبیک بسته از کمال غلبهٔ حال بلا اهمال متوجه کعبهٔ امید و آمال گردید و از راه مودت بطریق محبت دست اعتصام در عروة الوثقی

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[1] Text : بای

اهل بیت امامت و ولایت استوار کرده مدلول مَثَلُ أَهْلِ بَيْتِي كَمَثَلِ سَفِينَةِ نُوحٍ [1] دلیل راه خود ساخته از وادیٔ حیرانی و بادیهٔ سرگردانی راه بسر منزل مقصود برده ـ وَ الْبَاقِيَاتُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ ثَوَاباً وَ خَيْرٌ أَمَلاً *

APPENDIX E

Reply of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to the letter of Humāyūn asking permission to visit Mashhad

The reply of Shāh Ṭahmāsp regarding Humāyūn's visit to Mashhad shows him as a zealous Shī'ah and reflects his enthusiasm to help a brother king, because he was a friend of the Prophet and the holy *Imāms*. It is interesting to read this letter in the light of the incidents that occurred after Humāyūn met the Shāh when he even thought of burning Humāyūn to death because he declined to be converted to the Shī'ah faith. This letter is also written in a highly ornamented style and full of Arabic quotations and appears in the British Museum MS. Add. 7688. The English translation appears in the body of the book.

هدهدی آمد برون تاج کرامت بر سرش
نامهٔ اقبال و دولت بسته بر بال و پرش

رشحات ارقام اقلام گوهر فام از جانب آن یگانهٔ روزگار و برگزیدهٔ حضرت پروردگار و محب احمد مختار و حیدر کرار و آلهما الاطهار نامزد شده بود در اعز اوقات و اشرف ساعات بمطالعهٔ آن سرافراز گردید و از مطاوی آن نامهٔ نامی و صحیفهٔ گرامی انواع انوار محبت و ولا لایح و هویدا گشت و چون از مضمون این کلام فصاحت انجام استشمام توجه آن نواب عالی مقام بدان صوب نموده شد زبان طوطی تقریر و بیان و ناطقه فصیح البیان چنان بدین بیت مترنم گردید ـ * بیت *

همای اوج سعادت بدام ما افتد اگر ترا گذری بر مقام ما افتد

و چون از محاذی آن صحیفه مکرمه و مضمون آن ملاطفه شریفه چنان معلوم و مفهوم شد که منشاء توجه خاطر خطیر و مبدا تفکر ضمیر منیر بر اقدام

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[1] Text : النّوح

این جز طریقه مرضیه محبت و شیوهٔ متابعت خاندان هدایت نشان و دودمان
ولایت مکان که از روز ازل در طینت پاکیزه سرشت آنحضرت سرشته اند
چیزی[1] دیگر نیست که بنتیجه[2] این اعتقاد از حضرت مفتح الابواب که فَتَحْنَا
اَبْوَابَ السَّمَاءِ نکتهٔ از اسرار اوست و مسبب اسباب قضا و قدر که لِیَقْضِیَ اللّٰهُ
اَمْراً کَانَ مَفْعُولاً قطره از دریای حکمت اوست چندان آثار فتح و نصرت
بموجب اِنْ تَسْتَفْتِحُوا فَقَدْ جَاءَكُمُ الْفَتْحُ ظاهر گردد که زبان عالم و عالمیان
بدین مقال فرخنده مآل که ـ * بیت *

جهان بکام و فلک بندهٔ و ملک داعی   امید تازه و دولت قوی و بخت جوان
فتوح سوئ یمین و سعود سوئ یسار   سپهر زیر رکاب و .... زیر عنان

گویا گردد و نصرت جهان کشای و حرکت خصم فرسای موجب امداد و داد
جُنُوداً[3] لَمْ تَرَوْهَا و اِنْ یَنْصُرْكُمُ اللّٰهُ فَلا غَالِبَ لَكُمْ فلینصرنکم و یثبت
به الاقدام[4] تباشیر صبح دولت و اعلاء اعلام ظفر و نصرت به اعلاء علیئن
افراشته شود و ریاض بارگاه آن محب خاندان اهل البیت که آیه کریمه
عَرْضُهَا كَعَرْضِ السَّمَاءِ وَ الْاَرْضِ و آن تازه نهال اخلاص و گلبن اختصاص
بر وجه احسن نشو و نما یابد ذٰلِكَ فَضْلُ اللهِ یُؤْتِیْهِ مَنْ یَّشَاءُ وَ اللّٰهُ ذُو الْفَضْلِ
الْعَظِیْمِ[5] ـ امید چنانکه بعد از ملاقات فائض البرکات چندان آثار فیض و فتوح
بظهور رسد که مضمون مَالاَ عَیْنٌ رَأَتْ وَ لاَ اُذُنٌ سَمِعَتْ وَ لاَ خَطَرَ عَلٰی قَلْبِ
بَشَرٍ بظهور انجامد و کبار هندوستان و ترکستان و ایران و توران آنها را
مشاهده نمایند و در قرنها می گفته باشند و به توفیق حضرت عزت حاسدان
و منافقان سیه روئ هندوستان را با خاک سیاه یکسان ساخته به شعشعهٔ تیغ
آتشبار دمار از روزگار آن جمع نابکار بر آورده ظلمت کفر و تیرگی آن صوب

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[1] The text has چیز.   [2] The text has نتیجه.   [3] لم is dropped in the text.

[4] The MS. has the following: فلینصرکم و ثبت به الاقدام but the Qurān reads as follows: و لیربط علی قلوبکم و یثبت به الاقدام.

[5] ذلك من یشاء فضل الله یؤتیه ذو الفضل العظیم in the text.

به انوار هدایت وَ اللّٰهُ یَهْدِیْ مَنْ یَّشَآءُ الیٰ صِرَاط مُسْتَقِیم مبدل گردیده
کافه عالم و عالمیان صورت فتح و ظفر را در آئینه تیغ جهان افروز ملاحظه نمایند
انْشَآء اللّٰهُ وَحْدَهُ الْعَزِیْزُ *

APPENDIX F

A LETTER OF SHĀH ṬAHMĀSP OF ĪRĀN TO HUMĀYŪN AFTER HE LEFT THE SHĀH'S TERRITORY.

The following letter of Shāh Ṭahmāsp seems to have been written in reply to a letter of Humāyūn, which he sent to the Shāh through his envoy, Qāẓī Zainu'd-dīn. Shāh Ṭahmāsp appears to have sent this letter through Kamālu'd-dīn Ulugh Beg Akabarlū.[1] Humāyūn's letter is not given in the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* but a letter from him to Shāh Ṭahmāsp, giving details about Kāmrān and Balkh, appears in the British Museum MS. Add. 7688. Whether the present letter is in reply to that, we cannot say with certainty. The date of the letter is not mentioned, but as the rebellion and misconduct of Kāmrān is referred to in the letter, it was most probably written before the blinding of the prince which event took place in August, 1553. Shāh Ṭahmāsp writes that he could not write to Humāyūn on account of the rebellion of Alqās Mīrzā, which took place in 953-4 A.H./1546-7 A.D.[2] Therefore the letter was probably written sometime between 1546 A.D. and 1553 A.D. The letter shows that, even after Humāyūn's leaving Īrān and taking Qandahār by treachery, there existed, at least apparently, cordial relationship between the two monarchs. It also reflects the nature of political relationship, obtaining between Humāyūn and the Shāh; it shows that the Shāh regarded Humāyūn as an independent monarch, for the titles and epithets, used for Humāyūn by the Shāh in the letter, are those of independent sovereigns. Herein lies the historical importance of the document.

The letter appears in the *Afzalu't-Tawārīkh* and the *Faiyyāẓu'l-qawānīn*. The letter in the *Faiyyāẓu'l-qawānīn* is much shorter and the writer there is not Shāh Ṭahmāsp as in the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh*, but the prince of Īrān. It does not appear probable that the prince should have written such a letter to Humāyūn. Internal evidence also goes to show that the Shāh was the writer. I have mainly followed the text as given in the *Afẓalu't-Tawarikh*.

نقل کتاب حضرت شاه طهماسپ صفوی به حضرت همایون بادشاه گورگانی

طوالع کواکب نصرت و اقبال و سواطع مواکب ابهت و اجلال
اعنی نامهٔ نامی و صحیفهٔ گرامی که حضرت سلطنت منقبت عالی منزلت متعالی

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[1] *Af.T.*, foll. 161a-b.

[2] *Aḥ.T.*, p. 314 et seq.

مرتبت کیوان وقار فلک اقتدار آفتاب [1] آسمان عظمت و اجلال نیر اوج
حشمت و شوکت و اقبال ملاذ اعظم السلاطین فی الآفاق مستخدم
افاخم الخواقین من حیث الارث و الاستحقاق بادشاه عالیجاه عدالت و نصفت پناه
مظهر اسرار السلطان العادل ظلّ الله حاوي مکارم الشیم و الاخلاق الرضیه
جامع الکمالات الصوریة و المعنویة مشید ارکان السلطنة بوفور العدل و الانصاف
مرصص بنیان المملکة بدفع الجور و الاعتساف بانی مبانی المحبة و الوداد ممهد
قواعد الاخوة و المحبة و الاتحاد ـ رافع [2] لواء العدل و الاحسان باسط بساط الرأفة
و الامتنان صاحب اعناق الملوک و الحکام عمدة السلاطین فی العصر و الایام
بادشاه فریدون حشمت جمشید مقام خسرو بهرام صولت منوچهر احتشام فاتح
ابواب الحشمة و السلطنة بمفاتیح الهدایة مالک رقاب الملوک بمحض التائید
فمنه له [3] اللطف و العنایة مزین سریر السلطنة القاهرة مرتب محافل الخلافة
الباهرة مطلع انوار الهی زیبندهٔ اورنگ سلطنت و بادشاهی المنظور بانظار
رب العالمین ممهد اساس الملک و الدین المختص بعواطف الملک الاله المويد
[4] بالتائیدات الازلیة من عند الله معز السلطنة و المحبة و المودة و الشوکة
و الاخوة و العز و الاقبال و النصفة و الاجلال محمد همایون بادشاه غازی وفّقه
الله تعالی لما یحبه و یرضاه و اوصله الی [5] غایة ما یتمناه و جعل غایة احواله
و نهایة آماله خیرا من اولاه [6] و لا زالت دار سلطنته [7] مرفوعة بتائیدات النصرة
و الاقبال و ظلال حشمة و شوکة مصونة عن و صحة النقص و الزوال مشتمل
بر سوانح حالات و غرائب حکایات ارسال فرموده بودند صُحُفٍ مُکَرَّمَة
مَرْفُوعَة مُطَهَّرَة در اعز اوقات سمت ورود یافت و مورد شریفش را بشرائط
اعزاز و اکرام منوّر داشته در مقابل آن تحیات زاکیات که شمائم آن طیب

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1 *F.Q.* omits آفتاب آسمان عظمت و اجلال نیر اوج حشمت و شوکت و اقبال.

2 *F.Q.* omits the words from رافع لواء العدل و الاحسان to بعواطف الملک الاله.

3 The words are reproduced as they appear in the MS. *Af.T.*

4 The MS. reads بتائیدات.

5 المنا in the MS.

6 *F.Q.* omits the words from لما یحبه to خیرا من اولاه.

7 و لازال الدار السلطنة in *Af. T.* and لازال لواء سلطنة in *F.Q.*

نسائم رضین رضوان بمشام جان و جنان رساند و ادعیه صافیات که فوائح آن عرصهٔ آفاق را چون ساحت حدائق جنان معطر گرداند متحف و مهدی می‌گرداند حقا که ممکن همگی همت علیا نهمت به ترادف سلسله مخالصت و وداد و تضاعف مواد موافقت و اتحاد معطوف و مصروف بوده است و همواره از حضرت واهب العطیات امل و سائل است که ساحت فتح القضاء سلطنت و عرصهٔ تربیت فزائ مملکت بعز وجود باجود آن بادشاه عالیجاه از لوث غبار اغیار و تعرض شوکت اشرار مصفی گرداند اِنَّهُ سَمِیعٌ مُجِیبٌ - بعد از تبلیغ دعوات و تسلیمات وافیات محبت آیات مشهود ضمیر منیر و مکنون خاطر خطیر می‌کرد که از تاریخی که فی مابین مباعدت صوری واقع شد چنانچه تفاصیل و اجمال آن بعضی در طی کتابات سابق آنها و اعلام رفته و بعضی دیگر از واردات این صوب استماع افتاده خواهد بود بر حسب مقتضیات قضا و قدر امری چند از مصاعب امور روی نموده و باز به میامن تائیدات ازلی و عنایات لم‌یزلی که به برکت توجه و توسل نواب همایون ما [1] بارواح مقدسه مطهره حضرت سید المرسلین و ائمه معصومین صلوات الله علیهم اجمعین همواره قرین حال و واسطه انجاح آمال و امانیت بمقتضائ اِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْراً جمله فتح و تیسر هر یک صورتی از مکمن وَعِنْدَهُ مَفَاتِيحُ الْغَيْبِ چهره کشودند که عقول اولی الابصار از ادراک رموز و اسرار و افهام جمهور انام از تعقل خفیات دقائق و حقائق هر آن قاصر است - * بیت *

درین پرده کس محرم راز نیست   در فیض بر هر کسی باز نیست

فی الواقع اگرچه بعضی از سوانح امور از روی مقالیات عقلی در بدایت حال برخلاف مقتضائ دولت و نقیض مصالح ملک و ملت در نظر عالمیان جلوه نموده فاما از آنجا که اقتضائ حکمت کامله و عنایت شامله الهیست بر وفق مضمون کریمه عَسیٰ اَنْ تَكْرَهُوا شَيْئاً وَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ آنچه محض رضا و موافق اراده

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[1] *F.Q.* omits نواب همایون ما.

و مدعائ نواب همایون ما [1] و صلاح حال کافه برایا بود الحال از قوت به فعل آمد ـ * بیت *

آن کس که ز شهر آشنائیست داند که متاع ما کجائیست [2]

اَلْحَمْدُ لله عَلٰی تَوَاتُرِ آلائه وَ تَعَاقُبِ نَعْمَائه ـ سلطنت پناها شرحی که در طی کتاب[3] مستطاب و خطاب مشکین نقاب مشتمل بر غرائب وقایع و حکایات خصوصاً مخالفت کامران و دیگر برادران سست پیمان مرقوم قلم محبت رقم فرموده بودند بمضمون آن شرف اطلاع حاصل شد و وزارت پناه معالی دستگاه قاضی زین الدین شیخ علی کیفیت و خصوصیت هر یک از حکایات مذکور را خاطر نشان اشرف اعلیٰ نمود ـ اتفاقاً اکثر آن موافق وقایع ست که [4]درین مدت که نواب همایون ما را روئ نموده به نسبت موافقت آن حضرت والا رتبت مقتضی آنست که همچنانکه در امور باطنی و عقیده دینی با نواب همایون ما موافق و متحد اند در مجاری امور ظاهر نیز کمال متابعت و نهایت موافقت فی‌ما بین ملحوظ و منظور باشد فاما در اکثر مواد به مقتضائ قاعدهٔ حزم و تدبیر که[5] ازلوازم کارخانهٔ سلطنت و جهانبانیست لائق و مناسب چنان بود که بعد از مراتب تجارب و امتحانهائ که در مدت عهد دولت و تمادی ایام سلطنت ایشانرا حاصل شده بود به تجدید درین مرتبه نیز کیفیت حال و حقیقت صادرات اقوال و اعمال هر کسی از مرتبه ظن و گمان به سرحد بداهت و یقین رسد و دیگر بار مدار بر عهد و میثاق بد عهد نه نهند و مضمون صدق مشحون مَن جَرَّبَ الْمُجَرَّبَ حَلَّتْ بِهِ النَّدَامَةُ منظور و ملحوظ نظر اعتبار داشته به سخن برادران گرگ سیرت فریفته نه شوند ـ چون باوجود آن حالات و حکایات هنوز دغدغه و احتمال امثال آن صور در ماده آن سلطنت پناه [6] باقی است بنابر کمال تعلق خاطر عاطر

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1 *F.Q.* has نواب شاهی ما.

2 *F.Q.* omits the verse آنکس که ز شهر آشنائیست داند که متاع ما کجائیست

3 *Af. T.* has کتابات and omits the word خطاب.

4 *Af. T.* omits the words درین مدت که نواب همایون.

5 *F.Q.* omits the words from که از لوازم کارخانهٔ سلطنت to به تجدید.

6 *Af. T.* has جاری است after سلطنت پناه.

و دلبستگی بجانب شریف آن سلطنت پناه انتظام حال و مال و حصول امانی و آمال ایشان بر سبیل تنبیه تاکید این معنی نمود ترقب آن که من بعد بر خلاف سابق در امثال وقایع غور و تامل تمام فرموده در هر باب بدآنچه مقتضی دولت و متضمن مصلحت دانند به عمل آورند و در بعضی مواد خصوصاً تنبیه و تادیب فسده و اشرار جمله انتظام دین و دولت و التیام مصالح ملک و ملت از مضمون کریمه وَ اِنْ عَاقَبْتُمْ فَعَاقِبُوْا بِمِثْلِ مَا عُوْقِبْتُمْ بِه و مصداق وَ جَزَاءُ سَيِّئَةٍ سَيِّئَةٌ[1] مِثْلُهَا غافل و کاهل نباشند و بر وفق مقتضائ علاقه اخوت و رابطهٔ محبت فی مابین آنچه از سوانح امور روئ نماید بشرح و تفصیل خصوصیات اعلام فرموده من بعد مساهله در اعلام سوانح حالات نه نمایند و امداد و اسعادی که ازین جانب در هر باب متصور باشد خصوصاً مدد سپاه و لشکر بلا حجاب بر منصّهٔ آنها و اعلام جلوه دهند تا روز بروز این معنی موجب استحکام قواعد محبت و یگانگی و تشیید روابط اخوت و دوستی گشته وظائف حسن وفاق و مقتضائ قواعد اتفاق از جانبین به تقدیم رسد ـ سائر حالات و تفاصیل حکایات مرجوع به تقریر امارت مآب کمال الدین الغ بیگ عربکرلو است که در اکثر اسفار ملازم رکاب ظفر انتساب بود و بر دقائق و خصوصیات امور سانحه بواجبی اطلاع دارد یقین که در مجالس خاص و محافل اختصاص برسبیل اجمال و تفصیل بعرض عالی خواهد رسانید ـ همواره همائ همایون فال دولت و اقبال و طائر زرین بال جناح سلطنت و اجلال بر اوج کامگاری و کامرانی بال فشان و جلوه کنان باد ـ بمحمد و آله الامجاد[2] *

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE LETTER.

The horoscopes of the stars of victory and prosperity and the brightness of the pageantries of glory and magnificence, viz. the illustrious letter and esteemed epistle which His Majesty, the glory of dominion, possessed of high dignity, exalted rank and the majesty of Saturn, powerful as heaven, the sun of the firmament of pomp and glory, the luminary of the summit

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[1] جزاء سیئة in *Af. T.*

[2] *F.Q.* omits بمحمد و آله الامجاد .

of magnificence, grandeur and prosperity, the shelter of the greatest of kings in the world, receiver of services from most honoured kings by dint of inheritance and right, the king of high position, the asylum of justice and equity, the manifestation of the secrets of the just ruler, the shade of God, gathering of the noble virtues and laudable conduct, possessor of the external and inner perfections, the architect of the pillars of kingdom with abundance of justice and equity, the cementer of the foundation of kingdom by removing tyranny and violence, the builder of the edifices of love and friendship, the layer of the foundation of the canons of fraternity, love and concord, the hoister of the flag of justice and beneficence, the spreader of the carpets of kindness and favour, the lord (lit. the master of the necks) of kings and chiefs, the greatest of the kings of the time and age, the king possessed of the grandeur of Farīdūn and the dignity of Jamshīd, the ruler endowed with the valour of Bahrām and the magnificence of Mīnū-chihr, the opener of the gates of glory and dominion with the keys of guidance, the master (lit. the master of the necks) of kings by the mere favour (of God)—From whom there is grace and favour for him—, the adorner of the throne of mighty kingdom, the director of the assemblies of the prosperous Caliphate, the place of rising of divine light, the decorator of the throne of dominion and kingship, the chosen in the eyes of the Lord of the worlds, the layer of the foundation of kingdom and faith, distinguished by the grace of God, assisted by the eternal help of God, the honoured by kingdom, love, affection, grandeur, fraternity, glory, prosperity, justice and dignity, Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh Ghāzī—May God the High, enable him to do what He likes and pleases and make him attain the end of what he desires and make his ultimate condition and ultimate object of desire far better than before; and may the capital of his kingdom remain elevated by the helps of victory and grandeur and may the shadow of his dignity and pomp be preserved from the mark of defeat and decay—had sent, containing descriptions of circumstances and strange narrations—Like the revered books placed high and holy—reached here at the most glorious time. And its august arrival, being illuminated by respect and honour, brings along with it as a present and an offering pure benedictions, the scents of which give to the palate of the heart and soul the perfume of the breeze of the garden of paradise, and pure blessings, the odours of which perfume the surface of the world like the plains of the gardens of paradise.

Indeed the inner desire of this exalted self has been wholly directed and turned to make the chains of sincerity and love continuous and to multiply the matters of unanimity and concord and he has always hoped from and prayed to the Bestower of bounties (i.e. God) that the judgment-giving court of kingdom, and the nourishment-giving plain of dominion be cleared from the impurity of the dust of enemies and the opposition of the force of wicked persons by the honour of the gracious existence of that high-ranked monarch (Humāyūn)—He alone is the hearer and responder. After conveying good wishes and ample, loving compliments, it is brought to the enlightened heart and penetrating mind that since the date we were

separated from each other the incidents that occurred have been reported in previous letters in details or in brief and you may have heard of some of the occurrences of this direction (i.e. Īrān). According to the exigencies of the divine decree and fiat there appeared some difficult affairs and again by the blessings of the Eternal without beginning and help of the Eternal without end (i.e. of God) and with the blessing of my turning towards and attachment to the sacred souls of the Chief of the prophets and innocent *Imams*—Peace be upon them—which has been always a constant companion and source of the fulfilment of hopes and expectations according to—Undoubtedly there is ease with difficulty—all victory and easiness, showed their faces from the concealed place of—With Him are the keys of the unseen—to such an extent that the wisdom of the far-sighted falls short of the realisation of the secrets and mysteries and the understanding of the common people fails to comprehend the inner secrets of minute things and realities. Verse:

No one is aware of secrets behind this curtain;
The door of (divine) grace is not open to all.

In fact although certain affairs, according to logical reasoning, looked contrary to (the good) of kingdom and against the welfare of the country and the people in the view of the people of the world, yet from that state of affairs as desired by the perfect wisdom and the full divine favour according to the sense of the noble (verse)—May be, you dislike a thing and that is good for you—whatever was to the mere liking and after the desire and object of my august self and was for the good of all people, now has come to be realised (lit. come from potentiality to actuality). Verse:

One who knows the city well
Knows where our goods lie.

Praise be to the Lord for His unending favours and constant bounties. O! Asylum of kingdom! I had the honour of knowing the details of surprising incidents and stories, especially the enmity of Kāmrān and other faithless brothers which you wrote with your love-expressing pen in your gracious and musk-covered letter. The refuge of ministry, the eminent Qāẓī Zainu'd-dīn Shaikh 'Alī [1] explained to my august self the details and peculiarities of every incident referred to (in the letter). Perchance many of those incidents are like those that occurred during this period in the life of my august self (and) the conformity with Your Most Exalted Majesty requires that as there is oneness and similarity with my august self in internal matters and religious faith, there should also be complete likeness and perfect harmony between us in external matters. But in many matters according to the rule of prudence and tactics which is the requisite of the workshop of kingdom and government, it is proper and advisable that after repeated experience and tests during the period of government and long days of kingship, which you have acquired, if once again the present conditions

[1] Probably Shaikh Zain of *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 280, who paraphrased Bābur's *Memoirs* into Persian.

and expressions of words and actions of anybody reach the boundary of certainty and conviction from the stage of doubt and suspicion, (Your Majesty) should not believe again in the promises of the faithless persons and keeping in view the true saying—He who tests the tested is put to remorse—should never be deceived by the words of wolf-natured brothers. As even after those conditions and affairs, there remained suspicion and doubt of similar forms in the mind (lit. nature) of the asylum of kingdom (i.e., Your Majesty), by way of instruction I urge you for the perfect management of affairs and the fulfilment of hopes and expectations due to the perfect attachment to your gracious heart and friendship with your exalted self, the asylum of dominion. Hope that henceforward, unlike before, in similar cases, giving perfect consideration and thought to each matter, whatever (your Majesty) think proper for the state and necessary for (its) welfare, (Your Majesty) will do. (Your Majesty) should not in accordance with the verse (of the Qurān)—And if you punish, punish in comparison with the troubles you have suffered—and according to—And the retaliation of a wrong is to do a similar wrong—, be incautious and negligent in certain matters, especially in warning and punishing the troublesome and wicked creatures, and all management of religion and state and the conciliation of the affairs of the country and people. In accordance with the requisites of brotherly relation and the attachment of love between us; whatever events take place, should be informed in full and detail and henceforward you should not be negligent in acquainting (me) with the affairs. (Your Majesty) should express without hesitation any intention regarding the help and support from me, especially help in troops and army so that this may day by day be the cause of strengthening the bases of friendship and unity and of cementing the relationship of brotherhood and friendship and the duties of the beauties of sincerity and the requirements of the bases of co-operation may be mutually observed. All the remaining circumstances and details of incidents are referred to the verbal statement of the repository of nobility, Kamālu'd-dīn Ulugh Beg 'Arbakarlū who in many journeys was in royal service and has a detailed information of every incident. He will surely describe them in brief and in full to Your Majesty in the private chamber. May the auspicious phoenix (*humā*) of kingdom and prosperity and the golden-feathered bird with the wing of kingdom and dignity ever soar high in the height of success and victory by (the favour of) Muhammad and his chosen descendants.

APPENDIX G

The Personal letter of Shāh Tahmāsp to Humāyūn in his own Handwriting

The following letter was written by the Shāh in his own hand and enclosed in the previous letter (Appendix F). It reveals the cordial relationship that existed between the two monarchs and the Shāh's brotherly

feeling for Humāyūn. It occurs in the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* but it is not in the *Faiyyāẓu'l-qawānīn.*

رقعهٔ که حضرت شاه طهماسپ بخط خود نوشته درمیان نامه گذاشته بود

حضرت اخوت پناه سلطنت دستگاه محمد همایون بادشاه را بعد از تبلیغ دعا و نیازمندی اعلام می‌گرداند که بواسطه کفران نعمت که از القاص بی‌عقل بی‌دولت واقع شد نتوانستیم کس فرستاد که از آن برادر خبر یابیم تا امارت پناه خواجه غازی رسید و خبر نمکحرامی‌هائ مجدد که از کامران لعین مثل القاص سرزده بود بعرض رسانید ـ الحمد لله و المنة که هر دو به غضب حضرت امیر المومنین علی ابن ابیطالب صلوات الله علیه گرفتار شدند ـ * بیت *

کامران خارجی که می‌گوید خارجی کامران نخواهد بود

توقع ازان برادر چنانست که ما را فراموش نفرمایند و دائماً فرستادهائ جانبین متردد باشند که از احوال همدیگر با خبر باشیم و خواهشهائ خاطر یکدیگر را از هم بی‌تکلفانه نوشته می‌طلبیده باشیم ـ زیاده ابرام نرفت ـ دولت مستدام *

کتبه بندهٔ شاه ولایت طهماسپ صفوی الحسینی ـ

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE LETTER

After due compliments and blessings, His Majesty, the asylum of brotherhood, workshop of kingship, Muḥammad Humāyūn Bādshāh is being informed that I could not send anybody to know (the welfare of) my brother due to the faithlessness of Alqāṣ, the fool, the wretched till the exalted Khwāja Ghāzī,[1] the asylum of nobility, reached (here) and narrated the repeated faithlessness of the abominable Kāmrān like Alqāṣ. Praise be to God that both of them fell a victim to the wrath of the Commander of the faithful, Haẓrat 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him. Verse:

Who says that Kāmrān is a *Khārjī*?
A *Khārjī* will never be *kāmrān* (successful).

I hope that my brother will not forget me and always there will be exchange of envoys between us so that we may be aware of the affairs of each other and without formality may also write about the mutual desires of our heart. Nothing more to add. Let your kingdom be perpetual. Written by the slave of the king of holiness ('Alī), Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī al-Ḥusainī.

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[1] Vide *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 513.

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A. Indian Chronicles

1. *Taẑkirat-al-Wāqi'āt* of Jauhar Āftābchī, composed in 995 A.H./ 1587 A.D. As regards Humāyūn's exile in Persia Jauhar must be regarded as the most trustworthy authority, for his account is that of an eye-witness. He was practically all along present with Humāyūn in Persia; only for a short period he was away when he accompanied the child Akbar to Qandahār, because he joined Humāyūn at Herāt. The *Taẑkirat-al-Wāqi'āt* is not only the work of a contemporary; it has also the rare merit of recording events without exaggeration or suppression; it is an honest and straightforward account of a simple ewer-bearer who does not colour events but record them as they happened. No other historian gives so detailed an account of Humāyūn in Īrān as Jauhar. No other historian, writing from the Mughul stand-point, reveals the sufferings and indignities to which Humāyūn was subjected at the Safavid court. But Jauhar suffers from several defects. He is particularly deficient in chronology, he offers few dates and sometimes wrong dates—he commenced his work full thirty years after the death of Humāyūn. Besides, he cannot distinguish the trivial from the important; he will sometimes describe a petty incident in detail and dismiss an important matter in a few lines. There is another difficulty for the historian to consult Jauhar. Stewart's translation is neither faithful nor accurate and Erskine's trenchant criticism of it is not altogether unjust: 'The translation of Major Stewart is no translation at all. It is full of errors. It adds, takes away, alters. It is not trustworthy, and one does him no injustice in pronouncing him ignorant of the geography of the country, ignorant of the language, ignorant of the duty of a translator'.[1] The manuscripts of Jauhar also offer considerable difficulties and accordingly I have used three of them—Sir Jadunāth Sarkār's MS., which is copied from the 'Alīgarh University MS., the Punjāb University MS. and the India Office MS. Sir Jadunāth's MS. mainly agrees with the Punjāb University MS., but the India Office MS. is much different and does not differ so much with Stewart as they do. The India Office MS. is dated 1060 A.H./1650 A.D. and the Punjāb University MS. is dated 1287 A.H./ 1871 A.D. The Patna MS. is also a modern copy of 1278 A.H./1862 A.D. The oldest MS. is that in the British Museum—Add. 16,711, dated 1019 A.H./1610 A.D. I ordered for photostats from the British Museum MS., in August, 1939, but on account of the outbreak of war I could not procure them.

2. *Mukhtaṣar* of Bāyazīd, composed in 1000 A.H./1591-2 A.D. Next to the *Taẑkirat-al-Wāqi'āt* of Jauhar in importance is the *Mukhtaṣar* of Bāyazīd. Bāyazīd also was with Humāyūn in Īrān for a considerable time, though not all along, and to a certain extent Bāyazīd's account is also that of an eye-witness. He was with Humāyūn when the latter was

[1] Quoted by Rieu in *Catalogue of Persian MSS. at the British Museum*, vol. I, p. 246.

spending days with the S͟hāh in feasts and hunts in and near about Tak͟ht-i Sulaimān. Bāyazīd separated from Humāyūn when the latter was visiting Tabrīz and Ardabīl but rejoined him at Mas͟hhad and accompanied him to Qandahār. Bāyazīd's account, however, is not so detailed as that of Jauhar. Bāyazīd deals briefly with the incidents regarding Humāyūn's journey to the Safavid court and his stay there. He describes in some detail Humāyūn's last days with the S͟hāh, the hunting parties and festivities in and near about Tak͟ht-i-Sulaimān and also the return journey to Qandahār. He gives a copy of the *farmān* of S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp to the governor of Herāt, containing instructions for the reception of Humāyūn, and Abu'l-Faẓl probably draws upon Bāyazīd as regards this document. Bāyazīd's account of the first siege of Qandahār is partially that of an eye-witness. As a chronicle the *Muk͟htaṣar* is certainly inferior to the *Tażkirat-al-Wāqi'āt*. It is unsystematic and deficient in chronology; it frequently relates incidents not connected with the main subject and it sometimes mars the link by the author's personal and family history. Bāyazīd dictated his memoirs about fifty years after the incidents in 999 A.H./1590-1 A.D.; he was old and suffering from paralytic stroke and so could not write with his own hand. I have used the India Office MS. which is the only one extant. Major Raverty had one copy but we do not know where it is now. Dr. Hidāyat Hosain is editing the work on behalf of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.[1]

3. *Humāyūn-nāma* of Gulbadan Begam, composed in 1000 A.H./1591-2 A.D. Gulbadan Begam did not accompany Humāyūn to Īrān, but she gathered informations from Ḥamīda Bānū who was an eye-witness of almost all the events. Gulbadan thus had opportunity of knowing details about Humāyūn's life in Persia, but her account is brief, unsystematic and without dates. Above all, it is coloured; Gulbadan in her pages proves herself an affectionate and sympathetic brother but a biassed historian. For all these reasons the *Humāyūn-nāma* is not as valuable an authority as one would expect it to be. The work has been edited and translated by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge on behalf of the Oriental Translation Fund. The text has also been published at Lucknow.

4. *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn S͟hāhī* of Shaik͟h Ilāhdād Faiẓī Sirhindī, composed during the reign of Akbar. It is of course not an independent work but a recension of the *Tażkirat-al-Wāqi'āt* of Jauhar. 'Although the substance of this recension agrees in the main with that of the original work, its form is considerably altered. The work is generally expanded, and the narrative in many parts more circumstantial'.[2] Yet it helps us in the controversial points that appear in the manuscripts of Jauhar and sometimes adds new facts. As the manuscripts of Jauhar differ very much from one another, Faiẓī Sirhindī has been of much help in the correct reading and interpretation of controversial passages and the accurate reading of geographical names. I have used the India Office MS. which is a beautiful copy.

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[1] It has already been published.

[2] Rieu, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 927

5. *Akbar-nāma* of Abu'l-Faẓl, composed in 1004 A.H./1596 A.D. In spite of its defects which are not a few, the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu'l-Faẓl deserves its reputation as one of the greatest historical works written in Muslim times. For Humāyūn's life in Īrān it gives more details than any other chronicle, written from the Indian side, except the *Tażkirat-al-Wāqi'āt*. It is systematic and generally accurate in chronology. It gives Humāyūn's routes on his way to the Safavid court and his return from there systematically and in detail. It describes at considerable length Humāyūn's visit to places of importance, the meeting with the Shāh, the ceremonies, festivities and hunting parties as well as the grandeur of the Safavid court. It reproduces the Shāh's letter of instruction to the governor of Herāt for the reception of Humāyūn. But it has serious defects of omission and commission. It suppresses the account of Humāyūn's sufferings and insults at the court of the Shāh; it does not even refer to the Shāh's attempt to convert Humāyūn to the Shī'ah faith and it gives too rosy a picture of Humāyūn's stay in Persia, of the Shāh's hospitality and kindness, of Humāyūn's prestige and honour in the land of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. Therefore the *Akbar-nāma* has to be used with caution. I have generally used Beveridge's English translation, though occasionally I have consulted the text, A.S.B. or Lucknow, when necessary.

6. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, composed in 1002 A.H./1593-4 A.D. Niẓāmu'd-dīn's work is characterised by brevity and its comparative freedom from prejudice and bias. On the whole he gives a methodical, though brief, account of Humāyūn in Īrān. He does not indulge in exaggeration and his defect is that of omission and not of commission. His treatment is somewhat novel and his account of Humāyūn's life in Persia is a bit different from that of Jauhar and Abu'l-Faẓl. I have used both the Lucknow and R.A.S.B. editions of the work.

7. *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh* of 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāūnī, composed in 1004 A.H./1596 A.D. Badāūnī of course follows Niẓāmu'd-dīn but he has always something new to give. He gives additional details regarding Humāyūn's life in Īrān, though his account also is very brief. It is Badāūnī alone, of all historians of India, from whom we have definite information about Humāyūn's relationship with the Shī'ah faith, for on this point the manuscripts of Jauhar give different accounts. Badāūnī describes Humāyūn's visit to holy places in Īrān in some details. The text and English translation were published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

8. *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhimī* or *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* of Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh, better known as Firishta, composed in 1015 A.H./1606-7 A.D. As a southerner Firishta was far removed from northern affairs and had to derive his information from Niẓāmu'd-dīn, Abu'l-Faẓl, Badāūnī and other historians; yet Firishta's treatment is his own and he has sometimes something new to offer. He is brief, systematic and comparatively free from any prejudice; his writings are not marred by any digressions altogether unconnected with the main subject or any personal and family history. There is some critical touch in his writings and he shows in his pages the

temper of the historian and not the bias of the partisan like Abu'l-Faẓl and Badāūnī. Firishta gives quite a good, though brief, account of Humāyūn's exile in Īrān and he presents some new details about Humāyūn's relationship with the Shī'ah faith. The *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* was lithographed at Bombay and Lucknow. I have used both the editions.

9. *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī* of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nahāvandī, composed in 1025 A.H./1616 A.D. Though it is the memoirs of 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, it gives a long account of Indian history in the first volume. The *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī* deals at considerable length with Humāyūn's exile in Persia, and though it mainly follows Abu'l-Faẓl, it gives some new details, particularly regarding Humāyūn's visit to Mashhad and Jām. The second volume gives a brief account of Humāyūn in Īrān from the stand-point of Bairām Khān's biography. On the whole the *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī* is of considerable help in constructing the history of Humāyūn in Īrān. It has been pubished by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

10. *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* of Ja'far Beg Āṣaf Khān, composed in 997 A.H./1588-9 A.D. The *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* is a collaborative work but the fourth volume, in which the history of Humāyūn occurs, is attributed to the authorship of Ja'far Beg Āṣaf Khān. The *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* closely follows Niẓāmu'd-dīn or more accurately Niẓāmu'd-dīn closely follows the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, as it was composed earlier. 'The two works are generally very much in accord, but their language and style are different. Still the resemblance of the two works is such as to induce a belief that one author had access to the work of the other or that both works were based upon the same original materials.'[1] There is a brief and on the whole good account of Humāyūn in Īrān, but the dates given are few and one does not obtain as much materials as one would expect from a work of so high repute. It has all the merits and defects of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. I have mainly used the India Office MS. No. 3293, which is a very beautiful copy. There is also a complete volume of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* at the British Museum—Or. 465 which also I have consulted, but it is much inferior to the India Office MS.

11. *Haft Iqlīm* of Amīn Aḥmad Rāẓī, composed in 1002 A.H./1593-4 A.D. It is not a work on history but on biography and geography but it gives a succinct account of Indian history in connection with Āgra. Amīn Aḥmad was a foreigner but he came to India and stayed here for a considerable time and in his work he shows abundant knowledge of Persian history. As such one would expect much new information from him. His account, however, is very brief. Its importance lies in the fact that it corroborates the statements of other historians and offers the stand-point of an independent author who was not connected with the Mughul court. I have used two MSS. of the work at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

12. *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī* of Ibrāhīm bin Harīr, composed in 957 A.H./1550 A.D. It is a general history of the East including that of Muslim India from Adam to 957 A.H./1550 A.D. It gives a succinct account

[1] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. V, pp. 158-9.

of Humāyūn's exile in Īrān. Its treatment is quite different from that of Niẓāmu'd-dīn or Abu'l-Faẓl whom the majority of chroniclers follow. Its account is methodical and full of dates. It gives more dates than any other chronicle, whether written from the Indian or the Safavid side, about Humāyūn's wanderings in Persia. Though all its dates are not correct, yet they help us in constructing the chronology. The *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī* briefly describes the journey to and return from the Safavid court but does not give anything regarding Humāyūn's stay with the Shāh. The *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī* is the only work which refers to Humāyūn's second visit to Jām. I have used the India Office MS. There is also a copy at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, No. 97 of which Sachau remarks: 'This chronicle, though on the whole too brief, is very remarkable for its particulars and its accuracy in the chronological part'.

13. *Tārīkh-i-Ḥaqqī* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq Dehlvī, composed in 1008 A.H./1599 A.D. It is a general history of India from the time of Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad bin Sām to the reign of Akbar. The history of Humāyūn is very briefly treated. I have consulted the British Museum MS. 26,210 and the Bodleian Ouseley MS. 59.

14. *Majāmi'u'l-Akhbār* of Muḥammad Sharīfu'l-Husainī, known as Waqū'ī, composed in or after 1000 A.H./1591-2 A.D. It is a compendium of general Muslim history and in dealing with the Mughul period of Indian history shows independence of Abu'l-Faẓl and Niẓāmu'd-dīn. The author served under Akbar and was in his service in 1590 A.D. The *Majāmi'u'l-Akhbār* gives a very brief account of Humāyūn's exile in Īrān. It is far more detailed than the *Tārīkh-i-Ḥaqqī* and seems to be also better as a chronicle. I have used the India Office MS.

15. *Zubdatu't-Tawārīkh* of Nuru'l-Ḥaqq, composed in 1014 A.H./1605 A.D. It is a general history of India from Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad bin Sām to the accession of Jahāngīr. The author was the son of 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq Dehlvī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Ḥaqqī*. The *Zubdatu't-Tawārīkh* has the reputation of being a good medieval chronicle but so far as Humāyūn's life in Īrān is concerned it closely follows Niẓāmu'd-dīn. It does not give any additional detail and its importance lies only in the corroboration of statements of other historians. I have used the India Office MS.

16. *Rauẓatu't-Ṭāhirīn* of Ṭāhir Muḥammad Ḥasan 'Imādu'd-dīn, composed in 1015 A.H./1606-7 A.D. It is a general history of the Muslim East including India up to the last year of Akbar's reign. Ṭāhir Muḥammad was more than twenty years at Akbar's court when he finished his work. So far as Humāyūn's life in Īrān is concerned, it mainly follows Niẓāmu'd-dīn and its importance lies rather in corroborating the statements of other historians. There is one MS. of the work at the Būhār Library, Calcutta, but the reign of Humāyūn is not complete. The portion dealing with Humāyūn's exile in Persia is not there. I have used the British Museum MS. Or. 168.

17. *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Aḥmadī* of Aḥmad bin Bahbal, composed about 1023 A.H./1614 A.D. It is a general history of the world and consists of two volumes. The second volume comprises the history of the Chaghatāi

dynasty from Tīmūr to Jahāngīr. The *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Aḥmadī* gives a fairly long account of Humāyūn in Īrān but it closely follows Abu'l-Fazl. It reproduces the *farmān* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to the governor of Herāt. I have used the India Office MS. which is a very beautiful copy and is the only one extant.

18. *Iqbāl-nāma* of Mu'tamad Khān, composed in 1029 A.H./1619-20 A.D. It is divided into three volumes: the first treats of the history of Muslim India from Muḥammad bin Sām to Humāyūn, the second of the reign of Akbar and the third, which has been published at Calcutta and Lucknow, of the reign of Jahāngīr. So far as Humāyūn's life in Īrān is concerned, the *Iqbāl-nāma* summarises the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu'l-Fazl and has very little to add. I have used the India Office MS. The second volume dealing with the reign of Akbar is also at the Būhār Library, Calcutta.

19. *Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Tīmūrīya*, composed during the reign of Akbar. It is a history of Tīmūr and his successors in Īrān, and of Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar down to the twenty-second year of his reign. The name of the author is not known. It gives a fairly detailed account of Humāyūn's exile in Īrān and its account agrees in the main with that of Niẓāmu'd-dīn and the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*. The agreement is so close that one would suspect that its author borrowed from Niẓāmu'd-dīn or Niẓāmu'd-dīn borrowed from him or both drew upon the same original materials. As an historical work the work is not so important as it is in the study of Mughul painting. I have used the MS. at the Oriental Public Library, Patna, which is the only one extant.

20. *Humāyūn-nāma* in verse, composed during the reign of Akbar. It is a poetical account of the life of Humāyūn in the epic metre. The author's name and the date of composition are not mentioned. The poem was probably composed during the reign of Akbar who is alluded to as the reigning sovereign. Its author, as Mr. Ghanī suggests, may be Manẓarī who, according to Badāūnī, designed to write an epic poem—Shāh-nāma—on the life of Humāyūn.[1] In the Catalogue of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana MS. No. 431 is described as *Iqbāl-nāma* or *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn* Bādshāh, composed by the poet Faiẓī bin Mubārak. A comparative study of the *Humāyūn-nāma* and the *Iqbāl-nāma* would enable us to say if the two are the same work or not. However, as an historical source, the *Humāyūn-nāma* has not much value, at least so far as Humāyūn's life in Īrān is concerned. I have consulted the British Museum MS. Or. 1797, which is probably the only one extant (unless the Iqbāl-nāma referred to is the same work).

21. *Tārīkh-i-Akbarī* of 'Ārif Qandahārī, composed during the reign of Akbar. It is a general history of India from the early Muslim period to the reign of Akbar, but only the portion dealing with the reign of Akbar is extant. That the author wrote an account of Humāyūn's life in Īrān

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[1] Badāūnī, text, vol. III, pp. 340-1 and Haig, pp. 469-70. M.A. Ghanī—*A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, part II, p. 111.

in connection with the reign of Humāyūn is stated at p. 28. This volume of his history, however, describes briefly the sieges of Qandahār in the chapter on Akbar's early life. I have used Sir Jadunāth Sarkār's copy, made from the Rāmpūr MS., which is the only MS. of the work available in India.

22. *Tażkiratu'l-Mulūk* of Rafī'u'd-dīn Shīrāzī, composed in 1020 A.H./1611 A.D. It is a history of the Deccan with special reference to Bījāpūr but it deals with the history of the Mughul emperors of Hindūstān and of the Safavī monarchs of Persia. In connection with Humāyūn's reign it gives an account of Humāyūn's life and sojourn in Īrān which is full of inaccurate statements. I have used Sir Jadunāth Sarkar's copy, made from the MS. at the Sālār Jang Library, Ḥaidarābād, Deccan.

23. *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh* or *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh* of Ḥasan bin Muḥammadu'l-Khākīu'sh-Shīrāzī, composed in 1019 A.H./1610-11 A.D. The author came to India from Shīrāz in the time of Akbar and obtained different offices under him. *The Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh* is a work on general history—from the earliest times to 1021 A.H. and as regards the Indian section he closely follows Niẓāmu'd-dīn. So far as Humāyūn's wanderings in Persia are concerned, he has not much to add. I have used the British Museum MS. Or. 1649 and the MS. at the Public Library, Lahore.

24. *Ẓafaru'l-Wālih bi Muẓaffar wa Ālih* of 'Abdullāh Muḥammad bin 'Umar al-Makkī, completed in 1020 A.H./1611 A.D. It is a history of Gujarāt written in Arabic, but it gives a summary of Humāyūn's reign. It mainly follows Abu'l-Fazl but gives a few new details, e.g. about the diamond which Humāyūn presented to the Shāh. It has been edited by Sir E. D. Ross and published in the Indian Texts Series. It was completed in 1020 A.H./1611 A.D., for the author quotes from the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* which appeared only in that year.

25. *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī* or *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Afāghina* of Aḥmad Yādgār, composed about 1023 A.H./1614 A.D. It is a history of the Afghān rulers of India but incidentally it deals with the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn. It gives a fairly long account of Humāyūn in Īrān and the sieges of Qandahār. In the main it follows Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad. The work has been edited by Dr. Hidāyat Ḥosain and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

26. *Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq* of Muḥammad Ṣādiq, composed in 1048 A.H./1638-9 A.D. It is a voluminous history of the world and a considerable portion of the work devotes to an account of the Mughul dynasty till the author's times. It deals with Humāyūn's reign at considerable length. So far as Humāyūn's exile is concerned, it closely follows Firishta. I have used the MS. at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

27. *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh* of Muḥammad Yūsuf, completed in 1056 A.H./1646 A.D. It is a very comprehensive history of the world to the time of Shāh Jāhan. It gives a summary account of Humāyūn's exile in Persia and the sieges of Qandahār and draws upon Niẓāmu'd-dīn. I have used the MS. at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

28. *Mujmal-i-Mufaṣṣal* of Muḥammad Barārī Ummī, composed in 1065 A.H./1655 A.D. It is 'a concise general history from the times of the legendary prophets to the beginning of the XIc, A.H.'. Its account of Humāyūn in Īrān is very brief. I have used the R.A.S.B. MS. No. 43 as well as the Bodleian MS. No. 101. In the Bodleian copy the title and the author's name are not mentioned.

29. *Āṡār-i-Shāh Jahānī* of Muḥammad Ṣādiq Dehlvī, composed during the reign of Shāh Jahān. It traces the history of the Mughul dynasty from its foundation up to the reign of Shāh Jahān. It gives a summary of Humāyūn's exile in Persia but does not describe the second siege of Qandahār. I have consulted the MS. at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

30. *Mirātu'l-'Ālam* of Muḥammad Bakhtāwar Khān or more accurately Muḥammad Baqā, composed in 1078 A.H./1667 A.D. It is 'a very useful and trustworthy compendium of Eastern history from the earliest times to the reign of Aurangzīb.' The *Mirātu'l-'Ālam* gives a summary of Humāyūn's exile in Persia and the sieges of Qandahār, based on the *Akbar-nāma*. I have consulted the Būhār Library MS. No. 11.

31. *Mirāt-i-Jahān-numā* of Muḥammad Bakhtāwar Khān or more accurately Muḥammad Baqā, composed in 1094 A.H./1683 A.D. It is an enlarged recension of the *Mirātu'l-'Ālam*. I have used the Būhār MS. No. 13.

32. *Lubbu't-Tawārīkh-i-Hind* of Rāi Brindāban, compiled in 1106 A.H./1694-5 A.D. It is a general history of India from the time of the first Muslim invasion. It does not give any detail about Humāyūn's wanderings in Īrān but describes the two sieges of Qandahār. I have consulted the R.A.S.B. MS. No. 161.

33. *Khulāṣatu't-Tawārīkh* of Sujān Rāi Bhandārī, compiled in 1107 A.H./1695 A.D. It is a general history of India from the earliest times down to the accession of Aurangzīb. It gives a summary of Humāyūn's life in Īrān and the sieges of Qandahār. It has been edited and published by Khān Bahādur Ẓafar Ḥasan at Delhi.

34. *Tażkiratu's-Salāṭīn-i-Chaghtāia* of Muḥammad Hādī, compiled about 1138 A.H./1725 A.D. It is a history of the various branches of the house of Tīmūr with special reference to the Indian Timurides. It gives a detailed account of Humāyūn's march to Persia and reproduces the *farmān* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to the governor of Herāt, but after the *farmān* abruptly describes Humāyūn's return to Garmsīr. The sieges of Qandahār are described in great detail. I have used the R.A.S.B. MS. No. 168.

35. Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb of Muḥammad Hāshim 'Alī Khān surnamed Khāfī Khān, compiled in 1144 A.H./1731 A.D. It is a history of the Indian Timurides from Bābur to Muḥammad Shāh. Khāfī Khān gives a good summary of Humāyūn's sojourn in Īrān and describes in detail the sieges of Qandahār. He mainly follows Firishta. The text has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

36. *Hadīqatu's-Ṣafā* of Yūsuf 'Alī, compiled in 1173 A.H./1759 A.D. It is a compendium of general history down to 1173 A.H./1759 A.D. It

gives a summary of Humāyūn's life in Persia, based on Firishta. I have used the R.A.S.B. MS. No. 45.

37. *Nafi'ū't-Tālibīn* of Muhammad Hāfīz of Jālandhar, compiled in 1213 A.H./1798-9. It is an historical and philological commentary on the first two *daftars* of Abu'l-Fazl's Mukātabāt but the first *qism* deals with the history of Humāyūn. It gives an account of Humāyūn in Īrān with details of the sieges of Qandahār, mainly based on Abu'l-Fazl. I have used the R.A.S.B. MS., Curzon Collection, No. 135.

38. *Ma'danu's-Sa'ādat* of Sultān 'Alī Husainī Safavī, compiled between 1212–1229 A.H./1797–1814 A.D. It is a detailed history of the Indian Timurides up to 1218 A.H./1803 A.D. It gives a detailed account of Humāyūn's wanderings in Īrān, mainly based on Abu'l-Fazl. It reproduces the *farmān* of Shāh Tahmāsp to the governor of Herāt. I have used the R.A.S.B. MS. No. 181.

39. *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī* of Muhammad 'Alī, compiled about 1225 A.H./1810 A.D. It is a history of the Indian Timurides from the beginning of the dynasty to 1225 A.H./1810 A.D. It gives a summary of Humāyūn in Īrān. I have consulted the R.A.S.B. MS. No. 182.

B. Chronicles written from the Safavid point of view

1. *Tārīkh-i-Amīr Mahmūd* of Amīr Mahmūd bin Khwānd Amīr, compiled after 957 A.H./1550 A.D. It is a history of the reigns of Shāh Isma'il and Shāh Tahmāsp by Amīr Mahmūd, son of the famous historian Khwānd Amīr, author of the Habību's-Sīyar. It gives a very detailed account of the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp and in that connection of Humāyūn's wanderings in Īrān. It describes at great length the journey of Humāyūn from Qandahār to the court of Shāh Tahmāsp and his visit to various places on the way as well as the ceremonies and festivities in which Humāyūn participated. No other chronicle, not even Jauhar gives so much detail for this portion of Humāyūn's history as the *Tārīkh-i-Amīr Mahmūd*. It reproduces the report of Ahmad Sultān Shāmlū to Muhammad Khān Sharafu'd-dīn Ughlī Taklū, governor of Herāt about Humāyūn's arrival. It presents a very complete picture of Humāyūn at Herāt and Mashhad. It gives a very lively description of the ceremonies and festivities at Herāt, arranged by Muhammad Khān, and at the meeting place, arranged by Shāh Tahmāsp, in honour of Humāyūn's arrival. But it does not give any detail as regards Humāyūn's stay with the Shāh and its account of Humāyūn's return to Qandahār is rather brief and cursory. It describes, however, at considerable length the two sieges of Qandahār. Written from the Safavid point of view, it does not refer to Shāh Tahmāsp's ill-treatment of Humāyūn and it is not so good at chronology as one would expect it to be. On the whole, however, the *Tārīkh-i-Amīr Mahmūd* should be regarded as the best authority for Humāyūn's life in Īrān, written from the Iranian point of view. There are two MSS. of the work at the British Museum. I have used Or. 2939 which is the better one.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Ilchī-i-Niẓām Shāh* of Khūr Shāh bin Qubādu'l-Ḥusainī, compiled in 971 A.H./1563-4 A.D. It is a work on general history but the chapters dealing with the Safavid monarchs are of special importance on account of the author's long residence in Īrān. 'He was the envoy of Niẓām Shāh of the Deccan and was sent on an embassy to Shāh Ṭahmāsp and arrived at Rai, Rajab, 952.[1] He remained for a year and a half in attendance on the Shāh. His stay in Persia was of long duration, for nineteen years later, A.H. 971, we still find him at the court of Ṭahmāsp. The author's long residence at the Persian court, and the rare opportunities which he enjoyed there, gives an exceptional importance to that portion of his history'.[2] Khūr Shāh reached Persia only one year after Humāyūn left for Qandahār and he lived at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp for a considerably long period. As such Khūr Shāh was in a better position and had more opportunities than any other historian with the exception of Jauhar and Bāyazīd to have an accurate knowledge of the incidents of Humāyūn's life in Īrān. This lends supreme importance to his work for the historian of Humāyūn's life in Persia. Khur Shāh gives neither a very detailed nor a very brief account of Humāyūn's wanderings in Persia. He reproduces the letter which Humāyūn wrote to Shāh Ṭahmāsp, asking the latter's permission to enter the Persian territory, which we do not find in any Indian historical work except some manuscripts of Jauhar. Khūr Shāh is the earliest writer to reproduce the letter. He describes Humāyūn's journey from Garmsīr to the court of the Shāh as well as the festivities and ceremonies arranged for his reception rather in detail but like Amīr Maḥmūd dismisses Humāyūn's return journey too briefly, and does not give the capture of Qandahār by Humāyūn from the hands of the Persians. He gives additional information about the diamond Humāyūn presented to the Shāh. Though the author was the envoy of an Indian ruler, he wrote his history rather from the Persian point of view and probably in Persia. That is why he suppresses the insults and sufferings of Humāyūn at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. The chronology of the work is not so good as one would expect from the author who was almost contemporary with the events. In spite of these defects the *Tārīkh-i-Ilchī-i-Niẓām Shāh* must be regarded as one of the best authorities for the history of Humāyūn's life in Īrān. There are two MSS. of the work at the British Museum, Add. 23,513 and Or. 153. I have used both.

3. *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh*, composed during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I (1587–1629 A.D.). It is a very detailed history of the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp from his accession to his death. Humāyūn's visit to Īrān and his stay at the Safavid court are also dealt with at considerable length. The author, whose name is not mentioned, refers to the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu'l-Fazl on several occasions. The *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* is the only work, written from the Safavid stand-point, which reproduces the *farmān* of the Shāh to the governor of Herāt, and the *farmān* given in it is far different

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[1] Fol. 60a, Or. 153; *A.A.A.*, p. 89.

[2] Rieu, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 107.

from that given in Bāyazīd, the *Akbar-nāma* and other Indian chronicles. The author had access to official documents and his work is rich in *farmāns*, documents and letters. For our purpose, besides the *farmān* mentioned above, the Afẓalu't-Tawārikh reproduces a letter of Shāh Ṭahmasp to Humāyūn in reply to one from the latter. It gives more details about Humāyūn on his way to the Safavid court than about his return to Qandahār which is dismissed rather briefly. It describes the two sieges of Qandahār but not as fully as the *Tārīkh-i-Amīr Maḥmūd*. Like other chronicles written from the Safavid point of view, it is silent about the sufferings of Humāyūn at the hands of the Shāh. Though inferior to the *Tārīkh-i-Amīr Maḥmūd* as a chronicle, the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* is of considerable help in constructing the history of Humāyūn's exile in Īrān. I have used the British Museum MS. which is the only one extant.

4. *Rauẓatu's-Ṣafavīya* of Mīrzā Beg bin Ḥasan Ḥusainī Jūnābādī, compiled about 1035 A.H./1625-6 A.D. It is a history of the Ṣafavī dynasty from its origin to the beginning of the reign of Shāh Ṣafī. The history of Shāh Ṭahmāsp is fairly detailed and Humāyūn's visit is also dealt at considerable length. It gives full details about Humāyūn's journey from Garmsīr to the court of the Shāh, his visit to places of importance and particularly to Herāt and Mashhad and the ceremonies and festivities arranged in honour of his arrival. But like the *Tārīkh-Amīr Maḥmūd* it does not give any detail as regards Humāyūn's stay with the Shāh, and its account of Humāyūn's return to Qandahār is brief and cursory. It does not give the second siege of Qandahār by Humāyūn. Its treatment is like that of the *Tārīkh-Amīr Maḥmūd* and it so closely follows the latter that one would naturally suspect that Mīrzā Beg owed a great deal to Amīr Maḥmūd. The treatment of the *Tārīkh-i-Amīr Maḥmūd*, the *Tārīkh i-Ilchī-i-Niẓām Shāh* and of the *Afẓalu't-Tawārīkh* is different from one another, but there is unmistakable evidence of the influence of Amīr Maḥmūd on the *Rauẓatu's-Ṣafavīya*. Yet it should be said in fairness that Mīrzā Beg has occasionally new details to give. I have used the MS. at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal which was purchased only a few years ago from Ṭihrān by Mr. Ivanow. It has not been included in the Catalogues published. There is also another MS. at the British Museum.

5. *Khulāṣa-i-Maqāl* of Muḥammad Ṭāhir bin Muḥammad Yūsuf Qazwīnī, composed during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II (1052 A.H.–1077 A.H./1642–1667 A.D.). This is a history of the Safavid dynasty and its author was a court officer of Shāh 'Abbās II to whom the work is dedicated. The *Khulāṣa-i-Maqāl* gives a summary of Humāyūn's wanderings in Īrān. It reproduces the letter that Humāyūn wrote to Shāh Ṭahmāsp asking permission to enter the Persian territory. It describes briefly the ceremonies and festivities which were held in honour of Humāyūn's arrival. Its treatment is different from that of other chronicles written from the Ṣafavī point of view. It gives few dates and does give wrong dates. It does not describe the siege of Qandahār. It is rather unsystematic. However the *Khulāṣa-i-Maqāl* gives some new details and corroborates the

statements of other historians. I have used the Bodleian MS. which is the only one extant.

6. *Nusakh-i-Jahānarā* of Qāẓī Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Ghaffārī, composed in 972 A.H./1563-4 A.D. It is a general history of the East including that of the Ṣafavī dynasty from its origin to the date of composition. It gives a very brief account of Humāyūn's stay at the Safavid court. It does not describe Humāyūn's journey to and return from the summer capital of the Shāh. I have used the British Museum MS.

7. *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamārāi 'Abbāsī* of Iskandar Munshī, composed in 1038 A.H./1629 A.D. It is regarded as one of the best authorities for the history of the Ṣafavī kings of Persia. The work has been lithographed at Ṭihrān and Bombay. I have used the Ṭihrān edition, Buhar MS. No. 52 and six MSS. at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal as well as a MS. in possession of Ḥakīm Ḥabību'r-Raḥmān Ṣāḥib of Dacca, which is a very old and beautiful copy. There is much difference between the Ṭihrān edition and some of the MSS. I have consulted. The Ṭihrān edition and MSS. Nos. 90, 91 at the R.A.S.B. give a fairly detailed account of Humāyūn's life in Īrān and reproduce the letter of Humāyūn to the Shāh asking permission to enter his territory. But the other MSS. give a very succinct account of Humāyūn in Īrān and do not give the letter. Some of these MSS. are very old, e.g. MS. No. 89 (R.A.S.B.) is dated 1079-80 A.H. and the MS. in possession of Ḥakīm Ḥabību'r-Raḥmān Ṣāḥib of Dacca was copied in Aurangzīb's times. The Ṭihrān edition and MSS. Nos. 90 and 91 (R.A.S.B.) narrate the story of Qandahār as a bone of contention between India and Īrān. Iskandar Munshī refers to the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu'l-Faẓl and draws upon the latter to a certain extent so far as Humāyūn's life in Persia is concerned. He refers to the *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh* of Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū as giving detailed account of Humāyūn in Īrān. There is some truth, though exaggeration also, in the following comment of Erskine: 'The narrative of the author of the Tar. Alim-Arāi Abbāsi, adds few circumstances to the narrative of the Indian historians and chiefly adopts the views of Abul-fazl'.[1]

8. *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh* of Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū, composed in 985 A.H./1577-8 A.D. Though the work professes to be a general history of the East, it is mainly a history of the Safavid monarchs of Persia from its origin to the date of composition. Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign is dealt at considerable length and the account of Humāyūn's exile in Persia is also fairly detailed, more detailed than that in the *Tārīkh-i-Ilchī-i-Niẓām Shāh* or the *Khulāṣa i-Maqāl*. But it is not quite good at chronology and like other chronicles, written from the Safavid point of view, it suppresses Humāyun's sufferings at the court of his host. It describes in detail the two sieges of Qandahār. The text has been published in the Gaikwār's Oriental Series.

9. *Sharaf-nāma* of Sharaf Khān, composed in 1005 A.H./1596-7 A.D. It is a history of the Kurds but it gives also a brief history of Shāh Ṭahmāsp

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[1] Erskine, vol. II, p. 297n.

and in that connection a very brief account of Humāyūn's visit to the Safavid court. Though Sharaf Khān is brief, he gives us a very important fact about the Shāh's attitude to his royal host, because from him we learn that Shāh Ṭahmāsp intended to put Humāyūn to death. It also corroborates a few statements of other historians. The text was published at St. Petersburg in two volumes, 1860–62.

10. *Lubbu't-Tawārīkh* of Yaḥyā bin 'Abdu'l Latif, composed in 948 A.H./1541 A.D. It is a general history from the earliest times to the date of composition, but it contains several accounts of a later period. The author was a great favourite of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and his account would have been of great value. His account of Humāyūn in Īrān is very brief. I have used the MS. at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

11. *Tażkira-i-Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, composed before 984 A.H./1576 A.D. It is believed to be the memoirs of Shāh Ṭahmāsp written by himself. One might expect to learn from it about the Shāh's version of his royal guest in Persia. But he is practically silent on this matter. Only once he refers to Humāyūn and from it we know what the Shāh himself thought about his treatment of his royal guest. The memoirs have been of some help also in ascertaining the geographical names that occur in Humāyūn's journey. The text has been published at Berlin and Calcutta.

12. *Zubdatu't-Tawārīkh* of Muḥammad Afẓal Ḥusainī, composed about 1063 A.H./1652 A.D. It is a general history from the earliest times to the date of composition with special reference to the Ṣafavī kings of Īrān. Malcolm and Morley regard it as a very valuable chronicle for the Ṣafavī period of Persian history. So far as Humāyūn's life in Īrān is concerned, it is too brief to be of any use. I have used the MS. at the Oriental Public Library, Patna. There is also a good copy at the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

13. *Fawā'id-i-Ṣafavīya* of Abu'l-Ḥasan bin Ibrāhīm Qazwīnī, composed in 1211 A.H./1796-7 A.D. It is a history of the Ṣafavī dynasty from Shāh Isma'īl to Sulṭān Abu'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad Mīrzā, the last of the Safavids, who lived in exile at Lucknow as a pensioner of the East India Company. The Fawā'id-i-Ṣafavīya briefly describes Humāyūn's journey to the Safavid court and return from there to Qandahār, as well as the festivities and hunts which were given in honour of Humāyūn. It gives detailed information about the diamond which Humāyūn presented to Shāh Ṭahmāsp. On the whole quite a good account of Humāyūn in Īrān. I have used the India Office MS.

14. *Shāh-nāma-i-Qāsimī* of Mīrzā Qāsim Gūnābādī, composed after 971 A.H./1563-4 A.D. It is a poetical history of Shāh Isma'īl and Shāh Ṭahmāsp. Abu'l-Fażl quotes a few lines from Qāsim in connection with the meeting between Shāh Ṭahmāsp and Humāyūn. The first *daftar* of the work dealing with the reign of Shāh Isma'īl was printed at Lucknow and is available in MS. at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, but the second *daftar* dealing with the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp has not been published and its MS. is very rare. I have used the British Museum MS. Or. 339.

C. Miscellaneous works bearing informations on the subject

1. India Office MS. No. 224 (date of composition not known). The MS. contains historical extracts dealing with Humāyūn's flight to Īrān and the recapture of Qandahār. It reproduces the *farmān* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to Muḥammad Khān, governor of Herāt, and describes Humāyūn's journey and life in Irān from his arrival at Herāt to the farewell with the Shāh at Miyāna as well as the return to Qandahār, and gives the list of officers under Prince Murād in aid of Humāyūn and the list of Indian nobles who served Humāyūn during the exile. The MS. closely follows Abu'l-Fazl.

2. Haft Risāla-i-Taqwīmu'l-Buldān. Būhār MS. No. 45 (date of composition not known). It is a collection of seven treatises containing short accounts of events chiefly relating to the history of the Mughuls. It reproduces the *farmān* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to Muḥammad Khān, governor of Herāt, and gives a 'short history of the events connected with Humāyūn's stay in Persia.' The contents are similar to those of the India Office MS. No. 224.

3. British Museum Add. MS. 7688. It is a collection of letters written by, or addressed to, the sovereigns of Persia and neighbouring countries, and their *wazīrs*, including also royal diplomas, from the time of Alp Arslān Seljūkī to the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II. The author, Abu'l Qāsim Īvāghlī Ḥaidar, was a servant of Shāh Ṣafī to whom he dedicated the work but he completed it under the king's successor, Shāh 'Abbās II (1052 A.H./1642-3 A.D.). This MS. is of very great importance as it reproduces several letters of Humāyūn and Shāh Ṭahmāsp which we do not find elsewhere.

4. '*Ināyat-nāma* of 'Ināyat Khān Rāsikh, compiled in 1163 A.H./ 1750 A.D. It is a collection of letters and other historical documents by the Mughul emperors and eminent men of the Mughul empire. It reproduces the letter of Humāyūn to Shāh Ṭahmāsp asking permission to enter the Persian territory, and the reply of the Shāh. I have used the India Office MS. There is also one at the British Museum.

5. *Faiyyāẓu'l-qawānīn* of Nawāb Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥusain Khān of Lucknow. 'It is a large collection of historical letters, several of them being taken from the official annals and other earlier sources. Divided into three books (called daftars): (i) Letters of kings and princes, (ii) letters from nobles to each other and to kings and princes, and (iii) miscellaneous letters.'[1] It reproduces the letter of Humāyūn to Shāh Ṭahmāsp asking permission to enter Irān but not the reply of the Shāh. It gives the *farmān* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to the governor of Herāt as well as the letter which the Shāh wrote to Humāyūn while he was in Afghānistān and which we obtain also in the *Afẓalu'i-Tawārīkh*. The *Faiyyāẓu'l-qawānīn*, however, says that the letter was written by the prince of Īrān to Humāyūn. I have used Sir Jadunāth Sarkār's copy of the MS.

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[1] Jadunāth Sarkār, *History of Aurangzīb*, vol. II, p. 315, 1st ed., 1912.

6. *Duraru'l-manṣūr* of Muḥammad 'Askarī Bilgrāmī, compiled in 1231 A.H./1816 A.D. It is a collection of historical letters arranged in alphabetical order according to the author's name. It contains the *farmān* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to the governor of Herāt as well as the letter that Humāyūn wrote to the Shāh for permission to enter his territory and the reply of the latter. I have used the MS. at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

7. *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral, Sīdī 'Alī Rais in India, Afghānistān, Central Asia, and Persia, during the years 1553–1556* by A. Vambery, London, Luzac, 1899. The Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī Rais visited Persia during the years 1553-6 but he does not refer to any incident of Humāyūn's life in Īrān. His work has been of some help in connection with the geographical names that occur in Humāyūn's journey in Īrān. The account of his travels has been translated from the Turkish into English by A. Vambery.

D. European Sources

1. De Laet's '*Description of India and Fragment of Indian History*', translated by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Banerjee, Bombay, 1928. The real author of the *Fragmentum Historiae Indicae* was Pelsaert and its composition was begun during the reign of Jahāngīr after December, 1620.[1] In connection with the reign of Humāyūn it gives a summary of Humayūn's life in Īrān. It refers to the Shāh's instructions to the governor of Herāt for the reception of Humāyūn, the hostility of Bahrām Mīrzā and to the generous influence of Sulṭānam Begam.

2. *Storia Do Mogor* of Niccolao Manucci, translated by W. Irvine, John Murray, 1907-8. The first volume deals with the history of Humāyūn and gives a few stories in connection with Humāyūn's life in Persia.

In Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign two Europeans visited Persia and have left their accounts—Anthony Jenkinson, English ambassador (1562) and Vincentio d'Alessandri, Venetian ambassador (1571) but they do not refer to Humāyūn's visit or to any incident regarding Humāyūn in Persia.

(a) *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia* by Anthony Jenkinson and other Englishmen. Hakluyt Society. Nos. 72, 73, 1885-6.

(b) *Narrative of the most noble Vincentio d'Alessandri in Travels of Venetians in Persia.* Hakluyt Society No. 49, 1873.

E. Modern Works

(a) *On Humāyūn in Persia*

1. Erskine, W.—*A History of India*, vol. ii, London, 1854.
2. Beveridge, H.—*Humāyūn in Persia*, Calcutta Review, January, 1898.
3. Banerji, S. K.—*Humāyūn in Persia*, Calcutta Review, May, 1940.
4. Banerji, S. K.—*Humāyūn Bādshāh*, vol. ii, Lucknow, 1941.

[1] Moreland and Geyl's *Jahāngīr's India*, pp. IX, XV, Cambridge, 1925.

(b) On Persian geography, history and travel

1. Chardin, Sir John—*The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East Indies*, 2 pts., London, 1686.

Chardin, Sir John—*Travels in Persia. With an introduction by Sir Percy Sykes*, London, 1927.

2. Morier, J.—*A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor, to Constantinople in the years 1808 and 1809*, London, 1812.

3. Kinneir, J. M.—*A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*, London, 1813.

4. Malcolm, Sir John—*The History of Persia*, 2 vols., London, 1815.

5. Fraser, James B.—*Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan*, London, 1825.

6. Fraser, James B.—*An Historical and Descriptive account of Persia, from the earliest ages to the present time*, Edinburgh, 1834.

7. Barbier De Meynard—*Dictionnaire geographique, historique et litteraire de la Perse et des contrees adjacentes, extrait du Modjem El-Bouldan de Yaqout et Complete a l'aide de documents arabes et persans*, Paris, 1861.

8. Goldsmid, F. J.—*Eastern Persia*, 2 vols., London, 1876.

9. Macgregor, Sir Charles M.—*Narrative of a Journey through the province of Khorasan and of the N.W. Frontiers of Afghanistan in 1875*, 2 vols., London, 1879.

10. Curzon, George N.—*Persia and the Persian Question*, 2 vols., London, 1892.

11. G̱hanī, Muḥammad 'Abdu'l—*A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, 3 pts., Allahabad, 1929-30.

12. Le Strange, G.—*The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930.

13. Sykes, Sir Percy—*A History of Persia*, 2 vols., 3rd ed., London, 1930.

14. Ebtehaj, G. H.—*Guide Book on Persia*, Tehran, 1933.

15. Mas'ūd Kīhān—*Jug̱hrafiyah-'i-Mufaṣṣal-i-'Īrān*, 3 vols., Ṭihrān, 1310-11 (Iranian year).

16. Houtsma, M. Th., Arnold, T. W., Basset, R., Hartmann, R.—*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, London, 1913–34.

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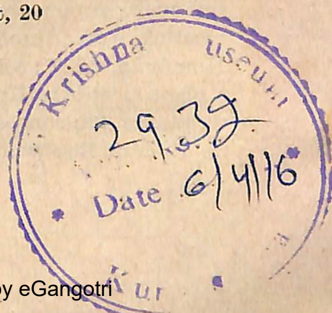
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